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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE THEORY OF THE ANAL CHARACTER

BY

KARL ABRAHAM

BERLIN

The wide field which is open to the science of psycho-analysis at the present time offers an abundance of separate examples leading to the rapid increase of psychological knowledge along the lines of purely inductive investigation. The development of the theory of the anal character is perhaps the most remarkable and instructive of these. In 1908, about fifteen years after the appearance of his first contributions to the psychology of the neuroses, Freud published a short paper entitled *Charakter und Analerotik*. It occupied only three pages of a journal, and was an example of compressed representation of cautious and clear statements. The gradually increasing body of his co-workers, among whom may be mentioned Sadger, Ferenczi and Jones, has helped to extend the range of knowledge already established. The theory concerning the products of a transformation of anal erotism gained unsuspected significance when in 1913, following on Jones' important investigation on *Hate and Anal Erotism in the Obsessional Neurosis*, Freud formulated an early 'pregenital' organization of the libido. He considered that the symptoms of the obsessional neurosis were the result of a regression of libido to this stage of development, which is characterized by a preponderance of the anal and sadistic instinct-components. A new light was thus thrown both on the symptomatology of the obsessional neurosis and one of the characterological peculiarities of the person suffering from it, i. e., on the so-called 'obsessive character'. I might add, anticipating a future publication, that very similar anomalies of character are found in those people who tend to exhibit melancholic

or manic states of mind. The strictest possible study of the sadistic-anal character-traits is obligatory for further investigation of the last-mentioned, still enigmatical, diseases. The present investigation is mainly concerned with the anal contributions to the formation of character. Jones'¹ last great work on this subject presents an abundance of valuable material, but it does not exhaust it. The work of a single person cannot do justice to the multiplicity and complexity of the phenomena; anyone who has made discoveries of his own should publish them, and so help to contribute to the body of psycho-analytical knowledge. Thus the purpose of the following remarks is to extend the theory of the anal character-traits in certain directions. Another problem of great theoretical importance will appear again and again underlying this study. Up to the present we understand only very incompletely the particular psychological connections between the two impulses—sadism and anal erotism—which we always mention in close association with each other, almost as a habit. The solution of this question will be attempted in a later paper.

In his first description of the anal character Freud mentioned that certain neurotics present three particularly pronounced character-traits, namely, love of orderliness which often passes into pedantry, parsimony which easily lapses into avarice, and obstinacy increasing to headstrong defiance. He established the fact that the primary pleasure in emptying the bowels and its products was particularly emphasized in these persons. He also found in these people that after successful repression the coprophilia either becomes sublimated into pleasure in painting, modelling and similar activities, or proceeds along the path of reaction-formation to a special tendency to cleanliness. Finally he emphasized the unconscious equivalence of faeces and money or other valuables. Among other observations Sadger² remarked that persons with a pronounced anal character were usually convinced that they could do everything better than anyone else. He also referred to a paradox in their character, namely, great perseverance side by side with the tendency to procrastinate.

Passing over isolated remarks in psycho-analytic literature by other authors I will turn to Jones' fundamental investigation which is based on wide experience. I might remark in advance that I do not differ from this author on any points, nevertheless I feel his statements need amplification and completion in certain directions.

¹ *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*. P. 664.

² *Analerotik und Analcharakter; Die Heilkunde*, 1910.

Jones is quite right in distinguishing two different acts in the process we usually designate as the education of the child to cleanly habits. The child has not only to be taught not to soil its body and surroundings with excreta, but it has also to be educated to perform its excretory functions at regular times. In other words, it has to give up both its coprophilia and its pleasure in the excretory processes. This double process of limitation of infantile impulses together with its consequences in the psychical sphere requires still further investigation.

The child's primitive method of evacuation brings the entire surface of the buttocks and lower extremities in contact with urine and faeces. This contact seems unpleasant, even repulsive, to adults, who are through repression far removed from the infantile reaction to these processes. They cannot appreciate the sources of pleasure on which the libido of the infant can draw. The stream of warm urine on the skin and contact with the warm mass of faeces produces pleasurable feelings. The child only expresses discomfort when the excreted products become cold to its body. It is the same pleasure which the child seeks when it handles its faeces at a somewhat later period. Ferenczi¹ has traced the further development of this infantile tendency. It must not be forgotten that pleasure in the sight and smell of faeces is associated with these feelings.

The particular pleasure in the *act* of excretion, which we must differentiate from pleasure in the *products* of the excretory process, comprises, as well as physical sensations, a psychical gratification which is based on the *achievement* of the excretion. Now in that the child's training demands strict regularity as regards its excretions, as well as cleanliness, it exposes the child's narcissism to a first severe test. The majority of children adapt themselves sooner or later to these demands. In favourable cases the child succeeds in making a virtue out of necessity, so to speak; in other words, of identifying itself with its teacher's requirements and being proud of its attainment. The primary injury to its narcissism is thereby compensated, and the original feeling of self-satisfaction is replaced by the gratification in its achievement, in 'being good', and in its parents' praise.

All children are not equally successful in this respect. Particular attention should be drawn here to the fact that there are over-compensations behind which is hidden that obstinate holding fast to the primitive right of self-determination which occasionally breaks out

¹ The Ontogenesis of the Interest in Money. *Contributions to Psycho-Analysis*. Chap. XIII, p. 269. Richard G. Badger, 1916.

violently later. I have in mind those children (and of course adults also) who stand out in virtue of especially gentle behaviour, faultless manners, and obedience, but who explain their deeply underlying rebellious impulses on the ground that they have been forced into submission since infancy. These cases have their own developmental history. In one of my patients I could trace the course of events to her earliest childhood, in connection with which, it is true, previous statements by her mother helped us.

The patient was the middle one of three sisters. She showed unusually clearly and completely the traits characteristic of a 'middle' child, which Hug-Hellmuth¹ has recently described in such an illuminating way. Her refractoriness, which was associated in the clearest manner with her demands for the infantile right of self-determination in the sense mentioned above, went back, however, in the last instance to a particular circumstance of her childhood.

When the patient was born her elder sister was still under a year old. Her mother had not quite succeeded in educating the elder child to habits of cleanliness when the new-comer imposed on her a double amount of washing, both of clothes and body. When the second child was a few months old the mother became pregnant for the third time. The mother determined to hasten the education of the second child to cleanly habits, so that at the time of the birth of the third child she should not be too much taken up with its predecessor. She demanded obedience regarding the carrying out of its needs earlier than usual, and emphasized the effect of her words by smacking the child. These measures produced a very welcome result for the harassed mother; the child became a model in cleanly habits abnormally early. It also became surprisingly submissive. On growing up the patient was in a constant conflict between submissiveness, resignation, and willingness to sacrifice herself on the one hand, and an unconscious tendency to revenge on the other.

This fragmentary description illustrates in an instructive manner the effect of early injuries to the infantile narcissism, especially if these injuries are of a persistent and systematic nature, and force a habit prematurely upon the child for which it is not yet psychically ready. This psychical preparedness only appears when the child begins to transfer the feelings which are originally bound narcissistically on to objects (mother, etc.). Once the child has acquired this capacity it will become cleanly 'for the sake of' this person. If cleanliness is demanded too soon,

¹ *Imago*, Bd. 7, 1921.

the habit is induced through fear. The inner resistance remains; the libido continues tenaciously fixed narcissistically, and a permanent disturbance of the capacity to love is the result.

The full significance of such an experience for the psychosexual development of the child only becomes apparent if the course of narcissistic pleasure is examined in detail. Jones lays stress on the connection existing between the child's high self-esteem and its excretory performances. In a short paper¹ I have attempted to show with examples that the infantile idea of the omnipotence of one's own wishes and thoughts can proceed from a stage in which the child ascribed omnipotence of this kind to its excretions. Further experience has since convinced me that this is a regular and typical course of events. Now the patient whose childhood I have just mentioned has been doubtless disturbed in the enjoyment of this narcissistic pleasure. Severe and torturing feelings of insufficiency with which she was later afflicted went back in their last roots very probably to this premature destruction of the infantile 'delusion of greatness'.

The estimation of the excretions as evidence of an enormous plenitude of power is foreign to the consciousness of normal adults. That it persists in the unconscious, however, is shown in many everyday expressions, though mostly of a jocular nature; for example, the seat of the closet is often denoted as the 'throne'. It is not to be wondered at that children who grow up in a strong anal erotic environment incorporate these kind of comparisons, which of course they hear, frequently into the nuclear part of their reminiscences, and make use of them in their later neurotic phantasies. One of my patients had a compulsion to read a significance of this kind into the German national anthem. By transposing himself in his phantasies of greatness into the Kaiser's place he pictured to himself 'the high delight of bathing in the glory of the throne', i. e., of touching his own excreta.

As in many other spheres, language gives us characteristic proofs of this overestimation of defaecation. For instance, the Spanish language possesses a usual (not joking) expression for it, '*regir el vientre*' ('to rule the belly'), which clearly indicates pride in the function of the bowels.

¹ Zur narzisstischen Bewertung der Exkretionsvorgänge, *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, VI, 1920; also included in my *Klinische Beiträge zur Psychoanalyse* (Internationale psychoanalytische Bibliothek, Nr. 10, 1921. Translation will be published very shortly by the International Psycho-Analytical Press. London.)

If we recognize a primitive feeling of power in the child's pride in evacuation, then we can understand the peculiar feeling of weakness which is often observed in neurotically constipated patients. The libido has been displaced from the genital to the anal zone, and they deplore the checking of the bowel function just as others would with genital impotence. In reference to anal hypochondriacs one feels tempted to speak of intestinal impotence.

Closely connected with this pride is the idea of many neurotics, which was first described by Sadger, that they must do everything themselves, because no one else can do it as well. According to my experience this conviction is often intensified to an idea of uniqueness. These persons become pretentious and arrogant, and tend to underestimate all other people. One patient expressed this as follows: 'Everything that is not me is dirt.' These neurotics only take pleasure in possessing a thing that no one else has; and in consequence they despise an activity which they have to share with other people.

The sensitiveness of the anal character to external encroachments of every kind on the actual or supposed purlieu of the person's own power is well known. It is quite evident that psycho-analysis must evoke the most violent resistance in these persons. These neurotics regard it as an unheard-of interference with their conduct in life. 'Psycho-analysis pokes about in my affairs', one patient said, thereby indicating unconsciously his passive-homosexual and anal attitude towards the analyst.

Jones emphasizes the obstinate holding fast to a self-conceived regulation. These neurotics refuse altogether to accommodate themselves to a regulation originating from without, but expect compliance from other people as soon as they have worked out a definite system in some sphere or other. As an example, I might mention the introduction of strict regulations for use in the office, or possibly the writing of a book which contains binding rules or recommendations for the organization of all offices of a certain kind.

A crass example of enforcing strict regulations is the following: A mother drew up a written programme in which she arranged her daughter's order of the day in the most minute manner. The orders for first thing in the morning were set out as follows: (1) Get up. (2) Use the chamber. (3) Wash, etc. In the morning she would knock from time to time at her daughter's door, and ask, 'How far have you got now?' The girl would then have to reply, '9' or '15', as the case might be. In this way the mother kept a strict control over the carrying out of her plan.

It might be mentioned here that all such systems not only testify to an obsession for order, but also to the inventor's love of power which is of sadistic origin. I intend later to deal with the combination of anal and sadistic impulses in detail.

Allusion may be made here to the pleasure of these neurotics in indexing and registering, in making up tabular summaries, and in all kinds of statistics.

These neurotics show the same wilfulness in regard to any demand or request which is made to them by some other person. We are reminded of the conduct of those children who become constipated when defaecation is demanded of them, but afterwards yield to the need at a time that is agreeable to themselves. These children rebel equally against 'having to' (being told to empty their bowels) as against 'wanting to' (a child's expression for the need to defaecate). Their desire to postpone evacuation is a protection against both.

The surrender of excrement is the earliest form in which the child 'gives' or 'presents', and in the same way the later neurotic often retains the wilfulness just described in the matter of giving, and accordingly in many cases also refuses a demand or request made to him, but, on the other hand, makes a present spontaneously without paltry calculation. The important thing to him is to preserve his right of decision. We frequently find in our psycho-analyses that a husband opposes any spending of money proposed by his wife, while he hands her afterwards 'spontaneously' more than what was first asked for. These men delight in keeping their wives permanently dependent in financial respects. Assigning money in portions which they themselves determine is a source of pleasure to them. We know of similar things in the conduct of some neurotics regarding defaecation, which they allow to take place *in re-fracta dosi*. One special tendency in these men and women is that of distributing food in portions according as they think best. This tendency occasionally assumes grotesque forms; for instance, in the case of a stingy old man who fed his goat by giving it each blade of grass separately. Desire and expectation are intensified, and then gratification follows in small and insufficient doses.

Some of these neurotics endeavour to maintain a semblance of personal decision in those instances where they have to yield to the demand of another person. An example of this is the tendency to pay even the smallest amounts by cheque; in this way the person avoids using current notes and coin, but creates in each case his 'own money'. The discomfort of paying out is thereby diminished by just as much as it would

be increased if payment were made in coin. I would specially emphasize, however, that other motives are also at work in this matter.

Neurotics who wish to introduce their own system into everything are inclined to be extravagant in their criticism of others, and this easily degenerates into nagging. In social life they make up the main army of malcontents. The original anal wilfulness can, however, develop in two different directions, as Jones has convincingly shown. In some of the cases we find inaccessibility and stubbornness resulting in characteristics that are unsocial and unproductive. In other cases we find perseverance and thoroughness, i. e., characteristics of social value as long as they do not degenerate into extremes. We must here draw attention again to other instinctual sources besides anal erotism reinforcing these tendencies.

The opposite type has received very little consideration in psycho-analytical literature. There are certain neurotics who avoid all kinds of initiative on their own part. In ordinary life they want a kind father or attentive mother to be constantly at hand to remove every difficulty out of their way. It annoys them to give free associations during a psycho-analysis; they would like to lie quite still and let the analytical work be done by the physician entirely, or they desire to be questioned by him. The similarity in the results of analysis of these cases has enabled me to state that these patients in childhood resisted the act of defaecation demanded of them, and then were spared this trouble as the mother (or father) would resort to the liberal use of enemas or other methods. To these people free association is a psychical evacuation, and—just as with bodily evacuation—they dislike being asked to perform it. They are continually expecting that the work should be facilitated or done entirely for them. I call to mind here a reverse form of this resistance, which I have likewise traced back to anal erotic sources in an earlier paper¹. It concerns those patients who wish to do everything themselves in the psycho-analysis, and according to their own method; and therefore refuse to carry out the prescribed free association.

I do not intend to discuss here the neurotic symptom-formation which develops in general on the basis of repressed anal erotism, but to speak mainly of characterological manifestations. I shall only take into consideration *en passant* the various expressions of neurotic in-

¹ Über eine besondere Form des Widerstandes gegen die psychoanalytische Methodik, *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, V, 1919; and also in my *Klinische Beiträge zur Psychoanalyse* (Internationale psychoanalytische Bibliothek. Nr. 10, 1921).

hibition in which a connection with displacement of libido to the anal zone is quite evident. The fact that avoidance of effort is a frequent phenomenon in the picture of the anal character demands a stricter investigation. In particular, a short discussion of the state of affairs in the so-called 'obsessional character' is needed here.

If the libido in a male person does not advance in full measure to the stage of genital organization, or if it regresses from the genital to the anal developmental phase, there invariably results a diminution of male activity in every sense of the word. Man's physiological productiveness is bound up with the genital zone. If a regression of the libido to the sadistic-anal phase takes place, the man's productivity is lost, and not only in the purely generative sense. The man's genital libido should give the first impulse to the procreative act, and therewith to the creation of a new being. If this initiative which is necessary for this essentially productive act is lacking, we invariably find a lack of productivity and initiative in other respects in the man's behaviour. The consequences extend still further, however.

Combined with a man's genital activity goes a positive attitude of feeling towards the love-object, and this attitude is also transferred to his behaviour towards other objects, and is expressed in his capacity for social adaptiveness, in his devotion to interests, ideas, etc. In all these respects the character-formation of the sadistic-anal stage is inferior to that of the genital phase. The sadistic element, which in a normal man's emotional life is of great importance once it has undergone appropriate transformation by means of sublimation, appears with particular strength in the obsessional character, but becomes more or less crippled in consequence of the ambivalence in the impulse-life of these persons. It also contains destructive tendencies hostile to the object, and on account of this cannot become sublimated to a real capacity for devotion to a love-object. The reaction-formation of too great yieldingness and gentleness, however, which is frequently observed, must not be confused with a real love-transference. Those cases in which object-love and genital libido-organization are nevertheless attained to a great extent deserve a more favourable judgement. If the 'good-heartedness' mentioned previously is combined with incomplete object-love of this kind, a socially useful 'variety' is produced, which in essential respects is, nevertheless, inferior to full object-love.

In individuals with more or less impaired genitality we regularly find an unconscious tendency to regard the anal function as the productive activity, as if the genital performance were unessential, and

the anal far more important. The social behaviour of these persons is accordingly strongly bound up with money. They like to make presents of money or its equivalent; they belong to the type of Maecenas or become benefactors of some kind. Their libido remains detached from objects, and so the work they do remains unproductive in the essential sense. They are by no means lacking in perseverance—a frequent mark of the anal character—but this is largely used up in unproductive ways, for instance, dissipated in the pedantic observance of fixed forms, so that in unfavourable cases the preoccupation with formalities outweighs all interest in real things. In considering the various ways in which the anal character impairs male activity we must not forget the tendency, often such an obstinate one, of postponing every performance. We are well acquainted with the origin of this tendency. Associated with it usually goes a tendency to interrupt every activity that has been commenced; with some persons when they begin something or other one can predict that an interruption will occur very soon.

More rarely I have found the reverse conduct. For instance, one of my patients was prevented from writing his doctor's thesis through a long-standing resistance. After several motives for this resistance had come to light there finally appeared another one. The patient declared that he shrank from beginning the work because when he had once begun a thing he could not leave off again. We are here reminded of the conduct of certain neurotics with reference to their excretions. They retain the contents of the bowel or bladder as long as they possibly can. When finally they yield to the need that has become too strong for them there is no further restraint, and the entire contents appear. A fact to be particularly noted here is that there is a double pleasure, that of holding back the excreta, and that of evacuating it. The essential difference between the two forms of pleasure lies in the protracted process in the one case, and in the rapid conclusion in the other. As regards the patient just mentioned the long deferred commencement of the work signified a turning from pleasure in retention to pleasure in evacuation¹.

¹ The tendency to retention represents a special form of clinging to 'initiatory pleasure' (*Vorlust*), and seems to me to merit special consideration. I will only refer to one point in this respect. Recently (and more than once) two opposite 'psychological types' have been set up, and the attempt made to bring all individuals into one or other category. We may recall Jung's 'extroverted' and 'introverted' types. The patient whom I mentioned above was doubtless turned in upon himself in the highest degree, but gave up this attitude of hostility to objects

A detail from the history of the same patient will show the degree in which a preponderance of anal over genital erotism makes the neurotic inactive and unproductive.

Even during the analysis the patient remained wholly inactive for a long period, and by means of this resistance prevented any alteration taking place in his condition and circumstances. His sole method of reacting to external and internal difficulties was by violent curses—which by the way is quite usual in obsessional patients. Significant behaviour accompanied these expressions of affect. Instead of troubling about the fate of his work, he pondered over what would be the effect of his curses, whether they reached God or the devil, and what was the fate of sound-waves in general. Intellectual activity was thus replaced by neurotic brooding. It appeared from his associations that the brooding question about the place where noise (*Geräusche*) finally ends referred also to smell (*Gerüche*), and was in the last instance of anal erotic origin (flatus).

Generally speaking it may be said that the more the male activity and productivity is hindered in neurotics, the more pronounced is their interest in possessions, and this in forms which depart widely from the normal. In marked cases of anal character-formation almost all relationships in life are brought into the category of having (holding fast) and giving, i. e., of possession. It is as though the motto of many of these people were: Whoever gives to me is my friend; whoever desires something of me is my enemy! One patient said that he could not raise any friendly feeling for me during treatment; and added in explanation: 'So long as I have to pay anybody anything I cannot be friendly towards him.' We find the exact reverse of this behaviour in other neurotics; their friendly feeling towards a person increases in proportion to the help the other needs and gets from him.

In the first and larger group envy stands out clearly as the main character-trait. The envious person, however, shows not only a desire for others' possessions, but he connects with it spiteful impulses against the privileged person. It is only necessary to make a passing reference to the sadistic and anal roots of envy, however, since both are of secondary significance in the production of envy and reinforce other factors. This

more and more in the course of the psycho-analysis. This and many similar experiences all go to prove that 'introversion' in Jung's sense coincides for the most part with an infantile clinging to the pleasure in retention. We are therefore dealing with conduct that can be acquired and given up, and not the expression of a rigid psychological type.

character-trait originates in the earlier (oral) phase of libido-development. An example which illustrates very well the connection of envy with ideas of possession conditioned anally, is the frequent envy of the analyst by the patient. He envies him the part of a 'superior', and continually compares himself to him. A patient once said that the distribution of the roles in psycho-analysis was too unjust. He alone had to make all the sacrifices; he had to visit the physician, produce his associations, and had to pay money into the bargain. The same patient also had the habit of calculating the income of everyone he knew.

We have now come very close to one of the classical traits of the anal character, namely, the special attitude to money, most often represented by parsimony and avarice. Frequently as this characteristic of neurotics has been confirmed in psycho-analytical literature, there are a number of special phenomena in this sphere which have found little consideration, and which I shall therefore now deal with.

There are cases in which the connection between intentional retention of faeces and systematic parsimony is perfectly clear. I may mention the example of a rich banker who again and again impressed on his children that they should retain the contents of the bowel as long as possible, in order to get the benefit of every bit of the expensive food they ate.

Some neurotics limit their parsimony or their avarice to certain kinds of expenditure, while in other respects they spend with surprising readiness. There are among our patients those who avoid any payment for 'perishable' things. A concert, a journey, a visit to an exhibition involves expense for which nothing permanent is possessed in return. I knew a person who avoided going to the opera for such reasons; nevertheless he bought piano scores of the operas which he had not heard, because in this way he obtained something 'lasting'. Some of these neurotics avoid spending money on food, because it is not retained as a permanent possession after all. It is significant that there is another type who readily incurs expense for food in which he has overmuch interest. These are the neurotics who are always anxiously watching their bodies, determining their weight, etc. Their interest is concerned with what remains of the material introduced into their body as a lasting possession. It is evident that these persons identify the content of the body with money.

In other cases we find parsimony carried out strictly in the whole conduct of life; in certain directions, however, it is carried to extremes without resulting in any appreciable economy. I recall a queer miser

who went about in his house with the front of his trousers unbuttoned, in order that the button-holes should not wear out too quickly. It is easy to guess that other impulses also co-operated in this instance. Nevertheless it is characteristic that these could be concealed behind the tendency to save, which arises from anal erotism, so important is this principle. In some patients we find a special case of parsimony in the use of toilet paper. In this a dislike of soiling a clean thing co-operates as a determining factor.

The displacement of avarice from money or the value of money to time may be observed quite frequently. Time is equated with money in a familiar saying. Many neurotics are continually worrying over loss of time. It is only the time which they spend alone and at their work that seems to them well employed. Any disturbance in their activity makes them exceedingly irritable. They hate inactivity, pleasures, etc. These are the people who tend to exhibit the 'Sunday neuroses' described by Ferenczi, i. e., those people who cannot endure an interruption of their work. Just as every neurotically exaggerated tendency easily misses its object, so is this often the case here. The patients often save time in small things and lose it in big ones.

The simultaneous undertaking of two occupations is frequently adopted by patients in order to save time. They like, for example, to learn, read or accomplish other tasks during defaecation¹. I have repeatedly come across people who in order to save time put on or take off their coat and waistcoat together, or on going to bed leave their pants in their trousers in order to put on both garments by one movement in the morning. Examples of this kind could easily be multiplied. The forms in which pleasure in possession can express itself are very numerous. A collector with a gap in a series of stamps which smarts like an open wound is not far removed from the miser who, according to popular notion, counts and gloats over his gold pieces. Jones' work is so informative concerning the impulse to collect that I can add nothing of importance to it.

It seems to me necessary, however, to make a brief allusion to a phenomenon which is closely related to the pleasure in looking at a possession; I refer to the pleasure in looking at one's own mental creations, letters, manuscripts, etc., or completed works of all kinds. The proto-

¹ For these neurotics the closet is the true place of 'production', which its solitude helps. One patient who showed violent resistance against giving free associations during the analytic hours produced his ideas at home in the closet, and brought them ready-made to the analysis.

type of this tendency is looking at one's own faeces, which is an ever-new source of pleasure to many people, and represents in some neurotics a form of psychical compulsion.

The libidinal over-emphasis of possessions enables us to understand easily that our patients have difficulty in separating themselves from objects of all kinds, when these have neither a practical use nor any money value. People with this attitude towards possessions often collect all sorts of broken objects in the attic of the house under the pretext that they might need them later. Then on some occasion or other they will get rid of the whole lot of rubbish at once. Pleasure in a mass of collected material entirely corresponds to pleasure in retention of faeces. We also find in these cases that removal is delayed as long as possible. The same persons collect bits of paper, old envelopes, used pens and similar things, and cannot get rid of these possessions for long periods, until at considerable intervals of time a big clearance begins, which is likewise associated with pleasure. Among merchants and officials I have sometimes come across a particular tendency to preserve carefully quite used-up, soiled, and torn blotting paper. The spots of ink are equivalent in the unconscious of these neurotics to the soil of faeces. I might mention that a senile and weak-minded woman with a strong regression of libido to the anal stage would place the toilet paper she had used in her pocket and carry it about with her.

The following peculiar habit of a woman who in other respects showed unusually pronounced anal traits indicates that throwing away objects is equivalent in the unconscious to evacuating faeces. She was unable to throw away objects that had become useless. Sometimes, however, she felt impelled to throw some such thing away, and so she had invented a method to trick herself, as it were. She would go from her house into a neighbouring wood with the object to be removed—perhaps some old clothes—fixed on her back by one corner under her apron-string. She would lose it on her way through the wood, and return home another way so that she should not catch sight of the 'lost' object. She had, therefore, to let an object fall from the back part of her body in order to give up possession.

People who do not like to get rid of worn-out objects have a way of not readily taking to new ones. They buy new clothes, but do not wear them; they 'keep' them for the future, and only take a proper pleasure in them so long as they hang unused in the cupboard.

The disinclination to throw away worn-out or worthless objects frequently leads to a compulsive tendency to make use of even the most

trifling thing. A rich man used to cut his empty match-boxes into small sticks and give them to the domestics for lighting the fires. A similar tendency appears in women after the climacteric.

In many cases interest in the utilization of remnants undergoes an incomplete kind of sublimation, for instance, when a neurotic chooses to make use of the entire refuse of a town as a favourite subject for day-dreaming, though no practical result of his reflexions appears. We shall deal later with day-dreaming having this content.

We find the tendency to extravagance less frequent than parsimony in our patients. An observation communicated by Simmel in the Berlin Psycho-Analytical Society makes the parallelism between extravagance and neurotic diarrhoea just as evident as the connection between avarice and constipation which has been clear to us for a long time. I can confirm the correctness of this idea from my own experience, and indeed have drawn attention to the fact some years ago, that spending money can be equivalent to a longed-for but neurotically inhibited release of libido¹. I might mention here the tendency of some women to throw away money. It expresses a hostility towards the husband, whose 'substance' is taken from him in this way; it concerns, therefore—if we leave out other determinants—an expression of the female castration complex in the sense of a revenge on the man. We see here again sadistic motives co-operating with those of anal-erotic origin.

We can quite understand, from their contradictory attitude towards defaecation, the meanness of many neurotics as regards saving small sums of money in order to spend largely and generously from time to time. These persons postpone emptying the bowels as long as possible—often giving lack of time as a reason—and then when they go to the closet only evacuate a small quantity of faeces. A full evacuation, however, takes place now and then.

We occasionally come across persons with pronounced anal character whose libido has turned with a strange exclusiveness to the possession of money. A patient told me that as a boy he did not play at battles with lead soldiers like other children, but with pieces of money. He got people to give him many copper coins which represented ordinary soldiers. Nickel ones were non-commissioned officers of various rank, and silver ones were officers. A silver five mark piece was the field-marshal. This officer was secured from all attacks in a special building 'behind the front'. One side took the other prisoner in the battle and

¹ Das Geldausgeben im Angstzustand. *Klinische Beiträge*, S. 279.

added them to their own army. In this manner one side increased its possession of money until there was nothing left to the other. It is quite obvious that the 'struggle' in the patient's unconscious was against the 'rich' father. It is worth noting, however, in this example, that money entirely replaces human beings. When this patient came to me for treatment he took no personal interest in other people; only the possession of money and value of money stimulated him.

The conduct of our patients with reference to order and cleanliness is just as contradictory as in spending money. This fact is so familiar to every psycho-analyst that a general reference to it is unnecessary. Certain phenomena deserve special consideration, however.

Pleasure in indexing and classifying, in compiling lists, in statistical summaries, in programmes and regulating work by time-sheets is well known as an expression of the anal character. This tendency is so marked in many cases that the initiatory pleasure in working out a plan is stronger than the gratification in its execution, and so this latter is often left undone. I have known a number of patients with an inhibition for work which had persisted for a long time who would work out a plan of work on Sunday for the coming week, but then failed utterly to put it into practice. It is to be noted that such persons are not dawdlers but obstinate people who in their self-opinionated way reject the proved methods of others and want to act according to their own. Many neurotics remain during life in a particular form of ambivalent behaviour towards order and cleanliness. There are people who are very well groomed as far as external appearances go. But whereas their visible costume and linen is irreproachable, their underclothing and the covered parts of the body are exceedingly dirty¹.

These same people tend to preserve scrupulous order in their houses. On the writing table, for instance, every object will have its definite place, and books are placed with great care and regularity in the book-case where they are visible. In the drawers, however, complete disorder reigns which is only altered by a thorough 'clearance' on rare occasions, but which is sure to return by degrees.

I might mention here that in the unconscious of these neurotics a disordered room, disarranged drawers, etc. represent the bowel filled with faeces. I have repeatedly had to analyse dreams which allude to

¹ There is a saying in Berlin regarding such people: *Oben hui, unten pfui!* (On top all spry, below, oh fie!) In Bavaria they say more coarsely: *Oben beglissen, unten beschissen*. The contradictory nature of some people in this respect is a matter, therefore, of common knowledge.

the bowel in this way. One of my patients brought me a dream in which he climbed up a ladder after his mother in order to get into a lumber-room situated in the attic of the house. It was an incest-dream with an anal coitus-phantasy; the anus was represented symbolically as small steps, the bowel as a lumber-room.

Character-traits approximating to orderliness as, for example, thoroughness and exactness, are often closely associated with the opposite characteristic. These traits are particularly dealt with in Jones' investigations, and therefore I need not go into them. However, the craving for symmetry and 'scrupulous fairness' which is often represented in the anal character deserves mentioning.

Just as some neurotics count their steps in order to reach their destination with an even number of paces, so will they tolerate no asymmetry in other matters. All objects are arranged symmetrically. Divisions of all kinds are undertaken with minute exactness. A husband makes calculations to show his wife that there is no symmetry in their respective expenditure on clothes, etc.; he is constantly working out what the one has spent and what the other is entitled to spend to make things even. During the food shortage in the Great War two unmarried brothers kept house together. When the rationed meat for both was put on the table they divided it by weighing each one's portion on a pair of letter scales; both were anxious that the other should not come off short or feel himself unfairly treated. The perpetual desire to be 'quits' with other people is also significant, i. e., to leave no trifling obligation outstanding. That other people with pronounced anal character have a tendency to forget their debts (particularly when they are for trifling sums) may be taken as a phenomenon of unsublimated anal erotism.

Finally a discovery of Jones must be discussed which the author only mentions by the way, but which obviously is the condensed result of wide experience.

I quote (p. 674): 'The most interesting one is the tendency to be occupied with the reverse side of various things and situations. This may manifest itself in many different ways; in marked curiosity about the opposite or back side of objects and places—*e. g.*, in the desire to live on the other side of a hill because it has its back turned to a given place; in the proneness to make numerous mistakes as to right and left, east and west; to reverse words and letters in writing; and so on.'

I could support Jones' view with numerous examples from my own experience. They are of far-reaching importance for understanding certain neurotic symptoms and character-traits. There is no doubt

that the displacement of libido from the genital to the anal zone is the prototype which all these 'reversals' follow. Mention need only be made here of the conduct of many people who are considered 'peculiar'; their nature is built up for the most part on anal character-traits. They tend to act in great and small things in a manner that is just the opposite to that adopted by other people. They wear clothes that are as dissimilar as possible from the prevailing fashion. They work when others play. If they have to do certain work, for example, writing, they stand, whereas the majority would sit. When others ride, they go on foot; they tend to run while others walk. If the tendency is to wear warm clothing, they do the opposite. The food they enjoy is different from what most people would like. The connection of all this with the familiar character-trait of obstinacy is unmistakable.

I knew a young man during my student days who impressed me on account of his peculiar habits. He lived unsociably, resisted the fashion of the time in an ostentatious manner, and would not conform to the customs of the rest of the students. When I was having a midday meal with him one day in a restaurant I noticed that he took the 'menu' in the reverse order, i. e., he commenced with the sweets, ending with soup. Some years later I was asked by his relatives to see him professionally. I found that definite paranoiac delusions had already developed in him. If we bear in mind the great significance of anal erotism in the psychogenesis of paranoia, to which Ferenczi has referred, we can understand this peculiar conduct as an anal character-formation, and therefore as a precursor of paranoia.

Certain cases of neuroses in women in which an unusually strong castration complex is expressed reveal to us best the deeper meaning of such a tendency to reversal. We find in these cases the tendency to 'reversal' springing from two main motives: displacement of libido from 'in front' to 'behind', and the wish for a change of sex. I hope to report concerning the psychology of these conditions in another connection.

I will conclude these remarks on anal character-traits with an observation the truth of which I should like others to test. The anal character seems to stamp itself on the physiognomy in some cases. It seems particularly to manifest itself in a morose expression. Persons who are deprived of normal genital gratification tend to surliness¹ as a rule. A constant widening of the nares associated with raising the

¹ Some of them, certainly, have at command plentiful narcissistic sources of pleasure, and live in a state of smiling self-satisfaction.

upper lip seems to me of significance physiognomically. In some cases this gives the impression as though these persons were constantly sniffing at something. Probably this physiognomical characteristic is rightly traceable to the coprophilic pleasure in smell. In the case of a man who exhibited this kind of physiognomy I once remarked that he looked as though he were constantly smelling himself. Someone who knew the man quite well turned to me and said that the man really had the habit of smelling his hands and every object he picked up. I might add that he exhibited the typical anal character-traits in a pronounced form.

I do not claim to have dealt exhaustively with the subject of anal character-traits. On the contrary, I am conscious how little justice I have done to the multiplicity of the phenomena. In reality I had in view another object, namely, to increase our knowledge of the pregenital phases of the development of the libido by means of some additions to the investigation of the anal character. As I mentioned at the beginning, this paper will be followed by a study of manic-depressive states, which necessitates knowledge of the pregenital stages of development.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CHILD

BY

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I

The influence of sexual enlightenment and relaxation of authority on the intellectual development of children¹.

Introduction.

The idea of enlightening children in sexual matters is steadily gaining ground. The instruction introduced in many places by the schools aims at protecting children during the age of puberty from the increasing dangers of ignorance, and it is from this point of view that the idea has won most sympathy and support. The knowledge obtained by psycho-analysis however indicates the necessity, if not of 'enlightening', at least of bringing up children from the tenderest years in such a fashion as will render any special enlightenment unnecessary, since it points to the completest, most natural enlightenment compatible with the rate of development of the child. The irrefutable conclusions to be drawn from psycho-analytic experience demand that children shall, whenever possible, be protected from any over-strong repression, and thus from illness or a disadvantageous development of character. Alongside the certainly wise intention of countering actual and visible dangers with information, therefore, analysis aims at avoiding dangers that are equally actual, even if not visible (because not recognized as such) but which are much commoner, deeper, and therefore call much more urgently for observation. The results of psycho-analysis, which always in every individual case leads back to repressions of childish sexuality as the causes of subsequent illness, or of the more or less operative

¹ A lecture delivered to the Hungarian Psycho-Analytical Society, July, 1919. This paper was prepared for the press at that time, and I have left the remarks and inferences unchanged as they occurred to me then.

morbid elements or inhibitions present even in every normal mentality, indicate clearly the path to be followed. We can spare the child unnecessary repression by freeing—and first and foremost in ourselves—the whole wide sphere of sexuality from the dense veils of secrecy, falsehood and danger spun by a hypocritical civilisation upon an affective and uninformed foundation. We shall let the child acquire as much sexual information as the growth of its desire for knowledge requires, thus depriving sexuality at once of its mystery and of a great part of its danger. This ensures that wishes, thoughts and feelings shall not—as happened to us—be partly repressed and partly, in so far as repression fails, endured under a burden of false shame and nervous suffering. In averting this repression, this burden of superfluous suffering, moreover, we are laying the foundations for health, mental balance and the favourable development of character. This incalculably valuable result, however, is not the only advantage we can expect for the individual and for the evolution of humanity from an upbringing founded upon unqualified frankness. It has another and not less significant consequence, a decisive influence upon the development of the intellectual powers.

The truth of this conclusion drawn from the experiences and teachings of psycho-analysis has been clearly and irrefutably borne out by the development of a child with whom I have occasion to be much occupied.

Previous history.

The child in question is a boy, little Fritz, the son of relations who live in my immediate neighbourhood. This gave me the opportunity to be often in the child's company without any restraint. Further, as his mother follows all my recommendations I am able to exercise a far-reaching influence on the child's upbringing. The boy, who is now five years of age, is a strong healthy child of normal but slow mental development. He only began to speak at two years of age and was more than three and a half before he could express himself consecutively. Even then especially remarkable sayings, such as one hears at a very early age sometimes from gifted children, were not observed. In spite of this he gave the impression both in looks and behaviour of an alert and intelligent child. He mastered a few individual ideas very slowly. He was already more than four years old before he learnt to distinguish colours, and almost four and a half before he became familiar with the conceptions of yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow. In practical things he was distinctly behind other children of his age. Although he was often taken shopping, it seemed (from his questions) rather incomprehensible to him that one should not get things as a present from

people who had a number of them, and it was very difficult to make him understand that things had to be paid for, and at various rates according to their value.

On the other hand, his memory was remarkable. He remembered and remembers comparatively remote things in every detail and he is completely master of ideas or facts that he has once understood. Speaking generally, he has asked few questions. When about four and a half years old a more rapid mental development and also a more powerful impulse to ask questions set in. At this time too the feeling of omnipotence (what Freud has called the 'belief in the omnipotence of thought') became very marked. Anything that was being spoken of—any skill or handicraft—Fritz was sure that he could do perfectly, even when the contrary was proved to him. In other instances, when in reply to questions he was told that papa and mamma too were ignorant of much, it did not seem to shake his belief in his own omnipotence and in that of his environment. When he could defend himself in no other fashion, even under the pressure of proof to the contrary, he would assert, 'If I am shown how just once, I can do it quite well!' So in spite of all proof to the contrary he was convinced he could cook, read, write and speak French perfectly.

Onset of the birth question period.

At the age of four-and-three-quarters questions concerning birth set in. The conclusion was forced upon one that hand-in-hand with this there went a striking increase in his need to ask questions in general.

Here I would remark that the questions put by the little fellow (with which he mostly came to his mother or me) were always answered absolutely truthfully and, when necessary, on a scientific basis suited to his understanding, but as briefly as possible. Questions once answered were never referred to again, neither was a new subject introduced unless he either repeated one or spontaneously started a new question.

After he had once put the question¹, 'Where was I before I was born?' it cropped up again in the form of 'How is a person made?' and

¹ The question was occasioned by the chance remarks of an older brother and sister, who on different occasions said to him, 'You were not born then.' It seemed also to be based on the evidently painful feeling of 'not always having been there', as immediately on being informed and repeatedly afterwards he expressed his satisfaction by saying that he had been there before all the same. It was evident that this was not the only instigation for the question, however, as in a short time it cropped up in the altered form of 'How is a person made?' At four and a quarter years another question recurred frequently for a time.

recurred almost daily in this stereotyped fashion. It was clear that the constant recurrence of this question was not due to lack of intelligence, because he evidently fully understood the explanations that were given him about growth in the maternal body (the part played by the father was not referred to as he had not at that time asked directly about it). That a certain 'pain', an unwillingness to accept (against which his desire for truth was struggling) was the determining factor in his frequent repetition of the question was shown by his conduct—his absent-minded, somewhat embarrassed behaviour when the conversation had hardly started and his visible endeavour to be quit of the subject he himself had begun. For a short time he stopped putting this question to his mother and me and addressed himself with it to his nurse (who shortly afterwards left) and his elder brother. Their replies, that the stork brought the babies and God made people, contented him however only for a few days, and when he later came back to his mother again with the question, 'How is a person made?' he seemed at last more inclined to accept her reply as the real truth¹.

To the question, 'How is a person made?' his mother once more repeated the explanation given him often before. This time he became more talkative and told her that the governess had told him (he seems to have heard this previously too from some one) that the stork brought babies. 'That is only a story', said his mother. 'The L. children told me that the Easter hare did not come at Easter but that it was the governess who hid the things in the garden².' 'They were quite right'

He would ask 'What is a papa needed for?' and (more seldom) 'What is a mamma needed for?' The reply to this question, of which the meaning was not recognized at the time, was that one needed a papa to love and to take care of one. This was visibly unsatisfactory, and he frequently repeated the question until he gradually let it drop.

¹ At the same time he grasped some other ideas that had been repeatedly discussed in the period immediately preceding the birth questions, but that also apparently had not been thoroughly cleared up. He had even sought to defend them in a way, for instance, he had tried to prove the existence of the Easter hare by saying the L. children (playmates) possessed one too, and that he had himself seen the devil in the distance in the meadow. It was much easier to convince him that what he thought he had seen was a foal than it was to persuade him of the lack of foundation for belief in the devil.

² Apparently he had only been convinced in the matter of the Easter hare by this information supplied by the L. children (although they often told him untruths). It was this too perhaps that instigated him to investigate more closely the answer so often demanded but as yet not assimilated to the question 'How is a person made?'

she replied.—‘There isn’t such a thing as an Easter hare, is there? That is only a story?’—‘Of course.’—‘And is there no Father Christmas either?’—‘No, there is none either.’—‘And who brings and arranges the tree?’—‘The parents.’—‘And there are no angels either, that is only a story too?’—‘No, there are no angels, that too is only a story.’

This knowledge was evidently not easily assimilated, for at the conclusion of this conversation he asked, after a short pause, ‘But there are lock-smiths, aren’t there? They are real? For else who would make boxes?’ Two days later he tried the experiment of a change of parents, announcing that he was taking Mrs. L. for his mamma, and her children for his brothers and sisters, and he kept up this arrangement for a whole afternoon. He came home repentant in the evening¹. His question next day to his mother immediately after his morning kiss, ‘Mamma, please, how did you come into the world?’ showed that there was a causal connection between his deliberate change of parents and the preceding enlightenment that had been so difficult to assimilate.

After this he also showed much more pleasure in really coming to grips with this subject, to which he repeatedly returned. He enquired how it happened in dogs. Then he told me that recently he had ‘peeped into a broken egg’ but had failed to see a chicken in it. When I explained the difference between a chick and a human child and that the latter remains in the warmth of the maternal body till it is strong enough to thrive outside of it, he was manifestly pleased. ‘But then who is inside the mother to feed the child?’ he asked.

The next day he asked me, ‘How do people grow?’ When I took a little child of his acquaintance as an example, and as further examples for different stages of growth, himself, his brother and his papa, he said ‘I know all that, but how does one grow at all?’

In the evening he had been reprimanded for disobedience. He was perturbed about it and endeavoured to make it up with his mother. He said ‘I shall be obedient to-morrow and the next day and the day after . . .’ suddenly pulling up, he thought for a moment and asked, ‘Please, mamma, how long does the day after go on coming?’ and when she asked what exactly he meant, he repeated, ‘For how long does a new day still come?’ and immediately after ‘Mamma, doesn’t the night always belong to the day before and early in the morning is a new day

¹ He had run away from home just about two years before this, but his reason for doing so was not discovered. He was found in front of a watch-maker’s shop carefully observing the display in the window.

again¹?' His mother went to fetch something and when she came back into the room he was singing to himself. On her entering the room he stopped singing, looked at her closely and said, 'If you said now that I wasn't to sing I should have to stop singing?' When she explained that she would never say anything like that, because he could always do as he wished except when it could not be allowed for some reason and gave him examples, he seemed satisfied.

Conversation about the existence of God.

On the following day it rained. Fritz regretted this because he wanted to play in the garden, and asked his mother 'Does God know for certain how long he will let it rain?' She replied that God did not make the rain but that rain came from the clouds and explained the matter to him. Next morning he received her again with a question that had been given up for a long time, 'How is a person made?' His mother tried to discover what exactly he had not understood in her previous explanations and the child said, 'About the growing'. When she tried once more to explain how the little head and limbs, etc. grew, he said, 'Please, mamma, but how—where do the little head and the little tummy and all the rest come from?' On her reply that they are already present quite tiny inside the little egg, like the little flower in the bud, he asked no more. A little later he enquired, 'How is a chair made²?' In the meantime his mother had dressed him. Quite spontaneously he then asked, 'It isn't God who makes it rain?' Toni (the maid) said that God made the rain! After her reply he asked, 'Is it only a story that God makes the rain?' On her replying in the affirmative, he continued, 'But there really is God?' His mother replied a little evasively that she had never seen him. 'One doesn't see him but he is really up in the sky?'—'In the sky there are only air and clouds.'—'But there is really God?' he asked again. There was no escape; so she came to a decision

¹ The conception of time that he had found so difficult seemed now to have become clear to him. Once when the increased pleasure in asking questions had already set in, he said, 'Yesterday is what has been, to-day is what is, to-morrow is what comes!'

² He repeated this question afterwards for a time on occasions when details of growth which he had difficulty in understanding were being discussed. 'How is a chair made?' and the answer, with which he was quite familiar and which was no longer replied to for this reason, seems therefore to have been a sort of help to him, to be used as a standard or comparison for the reality of whatever he had just newly heard. He uses the word 'really' in the same way, and with this exchange the use of 'How is a chair made?' decreased and gradually ceased.

and said, 'No, child, he is not real'.—'But, mamma, if a real grown-up person says that God is real and lives in the sky—isn't it true even then?' Her reply was that many grown-up people did not know rightly about things and could not tell about them correctly. He had now finished his breakfast and stood at the door leading into the garden and looked out. He was thoughtful. Suddenly he said, 'Mamma, I see what is, and what I see really is there, isn't it? I see the sun and the garden—but I can't see Aunt Marie's house and yet it is there too, isn't it?' She explained to him why he could not see his Aunt Marie's house and he asked, 'Mamma can't you see her house either?' and showed his satisfaction at her denial. Immediately afterwards however he enquired further, 'Mamma, how did the sun get right up there?' and when she said a little pensively 'You know, it has been like that for a very, very long time already...'—'Yes but much much longer before, how did it get up there?'

I must here explain his mother's somewhat uncertain behaviour towards the child over the question of the existence of God. The mother is an atheist. Nevertheless, in the upbringing of the older children her convictions had not been put into practice. The children were, it is true, brought up quite independently of the confessional, and were also told very little about God, but the God which their environment (school, etc.) presented to them ready-made was never repudiated by her; so that even if he were little spoken of he was implicitly present for the children and occupied a place among the fundamental conceptions of their minds. The husband, who himself held a pantheistic conception of the Deity, quite approved of the introduction of the idea of God into the children's education, nothing definite had been decided on in this matter between the parents. By accident it happened that on that day she had no opportunity to discuss the situation with her husband, so that when in the evening the youngster suddenly asked his father, 'Papa, is there really a God?' he simply answered 'Yes'. Fritz retorted, 'But mamma said there was really no God.' Just at this moment his mother entered the room and he asked her at once, 'Mamma, please, papa says there really is a God. Does God really exist?' She was naturally rather taken aback and answered, 'I have never seen him and do not believe either that God exists'. At this juncture her husband came to her assistance and saved the situation by saying, 'Look here, Fritz, no one has ever seen God and some people believe that God exists and others believe that he doesn't. I believe that he does but your mamma believes that he doesn't.' Fritz, who throughout had looked from one

to the other with great anxiety, now became quite cheerful and explained, 'I think too that there is no God.' After an interval however he apparently had doubts all the same and he asked, 'Please mamma, if God does exist does he live in the sky?' She repeated that there were only air and clouds in the sky, whereupon he repeated quite cheerfully and definitely, 'I think too that there is no God.' Immediately afterwards he said, 'But electric cars are real, and there are trains too—I was twice in one, once when I went to Grandmamma's and once when I went to E.'

This unforeseen and improvised solution of the deity question had perhaps the advantage that it was adapted to diminish the excessive authority of the parents, to weaken the idea of their omnipotence and omniscience, since it enabled the child to ascertain—as had not before occurred—that his father and mother held different opinions about a matter of importance. This weakening of authority might possibly have fostered a certain sense of insecurity in the child; but this was I think quite easily overcome because a sufficient degree of authority still remained to afford him a sense of support and at any rate I have not been able to observe in his general behaviour any trace of such an effect, either as a sense of insecurity or as a shattered trust in either of his parents. All the same, a little remark that was made about two weeks later may have had some connection with this. During a walk his sister had requested him to ask someone the time. 'A gentleman or a lady?' he enquired. He was told it was indifferent which. 'But if the gentleman says twelve o'clock and a lady says a quarter past one?' he asked thoughtfully.

The six weeks subsequent to this conversation about the existence of God seemed to me to some extent to form the conclusion and climax of a definite period. I find his intellectual growth during and since this period to have been so much stimulated and so changed both in intensity and in direction and kind of development (compared with earlier conditions), as to enable me to distinguish three periods so far in his mental development, dating from his being able to express himself fluently. The period preceding the onset of questions about birth, the second period beginning with these questions and ending with the solution of the idea of the deity, and the subsequent third period which has just begun.

Third period.

The need to ask questions which was so marked in the second period has not become any less but takes a somewhat different line.

He certainly often returns even now to the subject of birth, but in a way that shows he has already incorporated this knowledge into the

general body of his thought. His interest in birth and connected things is still strong but decidedly less ardent, as is shown by his asking less but making more certain about it. For instance 'Is a dog made too by growing inside its mummy?' or another time, 'How does a deer grow? Just like a person?' On receiving a reply in the affirmative, 'It grows inside its mummy too?'

Existence.

Out of the question, 'How is a person made?' which is no longer put in this form there has developed an enquiry concerning existence in general. I give a selection from the wealth of questions of this kind asked in these weeks. How teeth grow, how eyes stay in (in the orbit), how the lines on the hand are made, how trees, flowers, woods etc. grow, whether the stalk of the cherry grows with it from the beginning, whether unripe cherries ripen inside the stomach, whether picked flowers can be replanted, whether seed gathered unripe ripens afterwards, how a spring is made, how a river is made, how ships get on to the Danube, how dust is made; further, about the manufacture of the most various articles, stuffs and materials.

Interest in faeces and urine.

In his more specialized questions ('How can a person move, move his feet, touch something? How does the blood get inside him? How does a person's skin come on him? How does anything grow at all, how can a person work and make things,' etc.), and also in the way he pursues these enquiries, as well as in the constantly expressed need to see how things are made, to get to know their inner mechanism (closet, water system, pipes, revolver)—in all this curiosity there seems to me to be already the need to examine what interests him to the very bottom, to penetrate into the depths. The unconscious curiosity concerning the father's share in the birth of the child (to which as yet he had not given direct expression) may perhaps have been partly responsible for this intensity and profundity. This showed itself too in another kind of question that for a time came much to the fore, which without his having previously spoken of it was really an enquiry about the differences in the sexes. At this time there recurred repeatedly the question whether his mother, I and his sisters had always been girls, whether every woman when she was little was a girl—whether he had never been a girl¹—also

¹ At the age of about three he showed a peculiar interest in articles of jewellery, particularly his mother's (this interest is maintained) and would say repeatedly, 'When I am a lady I shall wear three brooches at once.' He would frequently say, 'When I am a mamma ...'

if his papa when he was little was a boy, whether every one, every papa was little at first; once too when the birth question was becoming more real for him he asked his father whether he too had grown inside his mamma, using the expression 'in the stomach of' his mamma, an expression that he used occasionally although the mistake had been corrected. The affectionate interest in faeces, urine and everything connected with them that he had always displayed has remained very active and his pleasure in them is openly shown on occasions. He gave his wiwi (penis) of which he was very fond a pet name for a time, called it 'pi-patsch' but otherwise often 'pipi'.¹ Once too he said to his father as he gripped the latter's walking stick between his legs, 'look papa what a great big wiwi I have.' For a time he often spoke of his beautiful fine 'kakis' (faeces) occasionally bestowing much contemplation upon their shape, colour and quantity.

Once, on account of an indisposition, he had to have an enema, a very unusual proceeding for him, which he always strenuously resists; he takes medicine too only with great difficulty, particularly in pill form. He was very much surprised when instead of a solid motion he felt a fluid coming away. He asked whether the 'kaki' was coming from the front now or was that 'wiwi' water? On its being explained to him that it was happening just as usual only that it was fluid, he asked, 'Is it the same with girls? Is it the same with you?'

Another time he referred to the processes in the bowel that his mother had explained to him in connection with the enema, and asked about the hole where the 'kakis' came from. While doing so he told me that recently he had looked, or wanted to look in at this hole.

He asked whether the toilet paper was for the others too? Then . . . 'Mamma, you make kakis too, don't you?' When she agreed he remarked, 'Because if you didn't make kakis nobody in the world would make them, would they?' In connection with this he talked about the size and colour of dog kakis, of those of other animals and compared his own with them. He was helping to shell peas and said that he gave the pod an enema, opened the popo and took out the kakis.

Reality sense.

With the onset of the questioning period his practical sense (that, as already stated, was very poorly developed before the questions about birth which rendered the little fellow backward as compared with other

¹ Once when he was three he saw his elder brother in the bath quite naked and called out quite rejoiced, 'Karl has a pipi too!' He then said to his brother, 'Please ask Lene if she has a pipi too!'

children of his age) showed a great improvement. While the struggle with his tendency to repression was going on he could only with difficulty, but therefore all the more vividly, distinguish various ideas as unreal in contrast to real ones; now however he manifested a need to examine everything in this respect. Since the close of the second period this has come to the fore, particularly in his endeavour to enquire into the reality and proof of things long familiar to him, of activities he has practised and observed over and over again, and of things he has known for ages. In this way he attains independent judgements of his own from which again he can draw his own deductions.

Obvious questions and certainties.

For instance, he ate a piece of hard bread and said, 'The bread is very hard;' after he had eaten it, 'I too can eat very hard bread.' He asked me what was it called that was used to cook upon in the kitchen (the word had escaped him). When I told him he stated, 'it is called a range because it is a range. I am called Fritz because I am Fritz. You are called auntie because you are auntie.' At a meal he had not chewed a morsel properly and for this reason could not swallow it. On continuing his meal he said, 'It wouldn't go down because I did not chew it.' Immediately afterwards, 'A person can eat because he chews.' After breakfast he said, 'When I stir the sugar in the tea it goes into my stomach.' I said, 'Is that certain?'—'Yes, because it doesn't stay in the cup and it goes into my mouth.'

The certainties and facts acquired in this fashion obviously serve him as a standard of comparison for new phenomena and ideas offering themselves for elaboration. While his intellect was struggling with the elaboration of newly acquired conceptions and endeavouring to estimate those with which he was already acquainted and to get hold of others for comparison, he was led on to the scrutiny and registration of those he had already acquired and to the formation of new ideas.

'Real', 'Not real'—words that he had already been in the habit of using now obtained quite another meaning from the way in which they were used. Immediately after he had recognised the stork, Easter hare, etc., as fairy-tales and had decided that birth from the mother was something less beautiful but plausible and real, he said, 'But the lock-smiths are real, for who would make boxes then?' Again, after he was relieved of the compulsion to believe in a for him incomprehensible and incredible invisible, omnipotent and omniscient being, he asked, 'I see what is, don't I . . . and what one sees is real. I see the sun and the garden, etc.' So these 'real' things had acquired for him a fundamental meaning

that enabled him to distinguish all visible, actual things from those (however beautiful but unfortunately not true, not 'real') which occur only in wishes and fantasies. The 'reality-principle'¹ had established itself in him. When after the conversation with his father and mother he sided with the unbelief of his mother, he said, 'Electric cars are real and trains too, for I have ridden in them', he had found to begin with in tangible things the standard by which to measure also the vague unreliable things that his feeling for the truth made him reject. To begin with, he measured them only against tangible physical things, but already when he said 'I see the sun and the garden, but I don't see Aunt Marie's house and it does exist, doesn't it?' he had taken a further step along the road that transforms the actuality of what is only seen into the actuality of what is thought. He did this by establishing as 'real' something that on the basis of his intellectual development at the time seemed illuminating—and only something acquired in this way—and then adopting it.

The powerful stimulation and development of his reality sense occurring in the second period were maintained undiminished in the third, but, doubtless as a result of the great mass of newly acquired facts, principally took the form of a scrutiny of earlier acquisitions and at the same time as a development of new ones, that is, elaboration of them into knowledge. The following examples of this are taken from questions and remarks he let fall at this time. Shortly after the conversation about God, he informed his mother once on being wakened that one of the L. girls had told him that she had seen a child made of china that could walk. When his mother asked him what that kind of information was called, he laughed and said 'A story'. When she brought him his breakfast immediately afterwards he remarked, 'But breakfast is something real, isn't it? Dinner too is something real?' When he was forbidden to eat cherries because they were still unripe, he asked 'Isn't it summer now? But cherries are ripe in summer!' During the day it was said that he should hit back when struck by other boys. (He was so gentle and unaggressive that his brother thought it necessary to give him this advice.) In the evening he asked, 'Please mamma, if a dog bites me can I bite him back again?' His brother had poured out a glass of water and had stood the glass on its somewhat rounded edge so that it spilled. Fritz said, 'The tumbler does not stand well on that border' (he calls every defining edge, all boundaries in general, for instance the

¹ FREUD: Formulierung über die zwei Prinzipien des psychischen Geschehens. *Kleine Schriften zur Neurosenlehre. Dritte Folge.*

knee-joint, a 'border'). 'Mamma, if I wanted to stand the glass on its border I should want to spill it, shouldn't I?' An earnest and frequently expressed wish of his is to be allowed to take off the little trousers that are the only articles of clothing he wears in the garden during the great heat, and to be able to be quite naked. As his mother really could not allege any very cogent reason why he must not do so, she replied that only quite tiny children go naked, that his playmates the L. children do not go naked, because it is not done. Whereupon he begged, 'Please let me be naked, then the L. children will say that I am naked and they will be allowed and then I shall be naked, too.' Now too at last he showed not only comprehension of but also interest in money matters.¹ He repeatedly announced that one gets money for what one works at, and for what one sells in shops, that papa gets money for his work, but must pay for what is done for him. He also asked his mother whether she gets money for the work she does in the house (housekeeping). When he again begged once for something that was not to be had at that time, he asked, 'Is it still war?' When it was explained that there was still a shortage of things and that they were dear and therefore difficult to buy, he asked, 'Are they dear because there are few of them?' Later he wanted to know which things for instance are cheap and which dear. Once he asked, 'When one gives a present one doesn't get anything for it, does one?'

Definition of his rights. Will, must, may, can.

He showed too very obviously his need to have the limitations of his rights and powers clearly defined. He started this on the evening that he put the question 'How long will a new day always come again?' when he asked his mother whether he must cease singing if she forbade it him. At the time he showed at first lively satisfaction with her assurance that she would as far as possible let him do whatever he pleased, and he endeavoured to make himself understand by means of examples when this would and would not be possible. A few days later he got a toy from his father with the remark that it belonged to him when he was good. He told this to me and asked, 'Nobody can take away from

¹ The enlightenment that had evidently removed inhibitions and allowed his complexes to become more conscious probably determined the interest and understanding for money now appearing. Although his coprophilia had so far been expressed fairly frankly, it is probable that the general tendency to breaking down repressions now occurring would also make itself felt in reference to his anal erotism and thus give an impulse to the possibility of its sublimation—to an interest in money.

me what belongs to me, can they? Not even mamma nor papa?' and was very content when I agreed with him. On the same day he asked his mother, 'Mamma you don't just forbid me to do things—only for a reason' (using approximately the words she had employed). He once said to his sister, 'I can do everything that I am able—whatever I am clever enough to do and what I am allowed.' Another time he said to me, 'I can do everything I want to, can't I? Only not be naughty.' Further he once asked at table, 'May I never eat naughtily then?' And on being consoled that he had eaten naughtily often enough already he remarked, 'And now I may not eat naughtily ever again?'¹ He frequently says when at play or at other times about things he likes doing, 'I do this—don't I—because I want to.' It is thus apparent that during these weeks he completely mastered the ideas of will, must, may and can. He said of a mechanical toy in which a cock jumps out of a little cage when the door that holds him in is opened, 'The cock jumps out because it must.' When the dexterity of cats was being discussed and it was remarked that a cat can clamber upon the roof, he added, 'When she wants to.' He saw a goose and asked whether it could run. Just at that moment the goose began to run. He asked, 'Is it running because I said it?' On this being denied, he continued, 'Because *it* wanted to?'

Omnipotence feeling.

The decline of his 'omnipotence feeling' that had been so remarkably apparent some months previously seemed to me intimately associated with the important development of his reality sense that had already set in during the second period, but that had made still more noticeable progress since then. On different occasions he showed and shows a knowledge of the limitations of his own powers, just as he does not now demand so much from his environment. All the same his questions and remarks show over and over again that it is only a diminution that has occurred, that struggles still take place between his developing reality sense and this deep-rooted omnipotence feeling—that is to say, between the reality-principle and the pleasure-principle—frequently leading to compromise-formations, but often decided in favour of the pleasure-principle. I adduce some questions and remarks from which I drew these inferences. One day after he had settled the matter of the Easter hare, etc. he en-

¹ He repeatedly begs his sister to be very naughty again just for once and promises to love her very much for this. The knowledge that papa or mamma occasionally do something wrong also gives him great satisfaction, and on one such occasion he said, 'A mamma can lose things too, can't she?'

quired of me how his parents arrange the Christmas tree and whether the tree is made or really grows. Then he asked whether his parents could not decorate and give him a forest of Christmas trees at Christmas time? On the same day he begged his mother to give him the place B. (where he is to go in the summer), so that he could have it at once.¹ He was told early one morning that it was chilly and therefore he must be more warmly clad. Afterwards he said to his brother, 'It is cold, therefore it is winter. It is winter, therefore it is Christmas. To-day is Christmas eve. We shall have chocolates and nuts to nibble from the tree.'

Wishing.

In general he often wishes and begs whole-heartedly and persistently for possible and impossible things, displaying much emotion and also impatience, which do not otherwise come much to the fore as he is a quiet unaggressive child.² For instance, when America was being spoken of, 'Mamma, please, I should like to see America—but not when I am big—I would like to see it at once, now.' He often uses this 'not when I am big—I want it at once now', as a tag to wishes that he assumes will be met with the consolation of deferred fulfilment. But now he usually shows an adaptation to possibility and reality, even in the expression of wishes that at the time when his omnipotence belief was so much in evidence seemed utterly uninfluenced by any discrimination of their being realizable or unrealizable.

In asking to be given a forest of Christmas trees and the place B. as he did on the day following the conversation disillusioning him of so much (the Easter hare, stork etc.), he was perhaps attempting to find how far the parental omnipotence, which was certainly much impaired by the loss of these illusions, did nevertheless still extend. On the other hand, when he tells me now what lovely things he will bring me from B. he always adds, 'If I can' or 'What I can' while formerly he never showed

¹ At this time too he begged his mother, who was busy in the kitchen, to cook the spinach so that it would become potatoes.

² In his demonstrations of affection he is very tender, especially towards his mother but also towards others of his environment. He can at times be very stormy but is generally rather affectionate than rough. For a little time past however there has been a certain emotional element in the intensity of his questions. His love for his father showed somewhat exaggeratedly at about one and three-quarter years of age. At that time he loved him distinctly more than he did his mother. A few months previous to this his father had come home after an absence of almost a year.

himself in the least influenced by the distinctions of possibility or impossibility in the formulation of wishes or promises (of all the things he would give me and others when he was big). Now when acquisitions or handicrafts of which he is ignorant are being discussed, (for instance bookbinding) he says that he cannot do it and begs to be allowed to learn. But often it only requires a little incident in his own favour to render his omnipotence-belief active again; for instance, when he declared that he could work with machines like an engineer because he had got to know a little toy machine at his friend's, or when he often adds to his admission that he does not know something, 'If it is shown to me properly I shall know it.' In such cases he frequently enquires whether his papa is ignorant of it too. This clearly shows an ambivalent attitude. While the answer that papa or mamma too do not know something seems at times to content him, at other times he dislikes this knowledge and tries to modify it by proofs to the contrary. The servant once answered 'Yes' to his question whether she knew everything. Although afterwards she withdrew this claim, still for a time he would address the same question to her, trying by flattering remarks about her skill that had led him to this belief to get her to adhere to her original assertion of 'omniscience'. He had recourse once or twice to the assertion that 'Toni knows everything' (while all the time he was certainly convinced otherwise that she knew much less than his parents) when he was told that papa and mamma too could not do something, and it was evidently unpleasant for him at the time to believe this. He once begged me to uncover the water-pipe in the street because he wanted to see it from the inside. On my replying that I could neither do this nor put it to rights afterwards, he sought to put the objection aside by saying, 'But who would do such things if only the L. family and he and his parents were alone in the world?' He once told his mother that he had caught a fly and added, 'I have learnt to catch flies.' She enquired how he had learnt to do this? 'I tried to catch one and managed it and now I know how.' As he immediately afterwards enquired whether she had learnt 'to be a mamma' I think I am not mistaken in considering that—perhaps not quite consciously—he was making fun of her.

This ambivalent attitude—explained by the fact that the child puts himself in the place of the powerful father (which he hopes to occupy at some time), identifies himself with him but yet on the other hand would fain also do away with the power that restricts his ego—is certainly also responsible for this behaviour in reference to the omniscience of the parents.

The struggle between the reality and pleasure principles.

From the way however that his increasing reality sense obviously assists the decline of his omnipotence-feeling, and the way that the little fellow only gets the better of the latter by distinctly painful efforts under the pressure of his impulse for investigation, it seems to me to follow that this conflict between reality-sense and omnipotence-feeling also affects the ambivalent attitude. When the reality-principle gets the upper hand in this struggle and maintains the necessity for limiting the boundlessness of one's own omnipotence-feeling, a parallel need arises to discover a mitigation for this painful compulsion in detraction from parental omnipotence. If however the pleasure-principle conquers, it finds in parental perfection a support that it tries to defend. This might perhaps be one reason why the child, whenever it is apparently possible, makes attempts to rescue his belief both in his own and in his parent's omnipotence.

When, moved by the reality-principle, he attempts to make painful renunciation of his own boundless omnipotence-feeling, there probably arises in association with this the need so obvious in the child of defining the limits of his own and of parental power.

It seems to me as though in this case the child's urge to knowledge, being earlier and more strongly developed, had stimulated his feebler reality-sense and compelled him by overcoming his tendency to repression to make sure of the acquisitions that were so new and so important for him. These acquisition and especially the impairment of authority that went with them will have renewed and so strengthened the reality-principle for him as to enable him to carry on successfully the progress in his thinking and knowing that began simultaneously with the influencing and overcoming of the omnipotence-feeling. This decline of the omnipotence-feeling that is brought about by the impulse to diminish parental perfection (which certainly assists in establishing the limits of his own as well as of their power) in turn influences the impairment of authority, so that an interaction, a reciprocal support would exist between the impairment of authority and the weakening of the omnipotence-feeling.

Optimism. Aggressive tendencies.

His optimism is strongly developed, associated of course with his but little shaken omnipotence-feeling; it was formerly peculiarly noticeable but is even yet apparent on various occasions. Parallel with the decrease in his omnipotence-feeling, he has made great strides in adaptation to reality, but his optimism is very often stronger than any reality. This

was particularly evident on the occasion of a very painful disillusionment, probably I imagine the severest of his life so far. His playmates, whose pleasant relations with him had been disturbed by external causes, displayed a completely altered behaviour towards him, instead of the love and affection hitherto shown. As there are several of them and they are older than he, they let him feel their power in every way and mocked and insulted him. Being unaggressive and gentle he tried persistently to win them back again by friendliness and entreaties, and for a time did not seem to admit their unkindness even to himself. For instance, although he could not but recognize the fact, he was absolutely disinclined to acknowledge that they told him lies, and when his brother had occasion once more to prove it to him and warned him not to believe them, Fritz pleaded 'But they don't always tell lies.' Now however occasional if infrequent complaints showed that he had decided to recognize the wrongs done him. Aggressive tendencies now appeared quite openly; he spoke about really shooting them dead with his toy revolver, about shooting them in the eye; once too he spoke of striking them dead when he had been struck by the other children, and showed his death-wishes in this and other remarks as well as in his play.¹ At the same time, nevertheless, he did not give up his attempts to win them back again. Whenever they play with him again he seems to have forgotten all that has passed and to be quite content, though occasional remarks show that he is perfectly aware of the changed relations. As he is particularly affectionately attached to one of the little girls he suffered visibly in this affair, but carried it off with calm and great optimism. Once when he heard about dying and it was explained to him at his own request that everyone must die when they are old, he said to his mother, 'Then I shall die too, and you too and the L. children too. And then we shall all come back again and then they will be good again. It may be—perhaps.' When he found other play-fellows—boys—he seemed to have got over the whole thing and now declares repeatedly that he does not like the L. children any more.

The question of the existence of God. Dying.

Since the conversation about the non-existence of God he has mentioned this matter only seldom and superficially and in general has not referred again to the Easter hare, Father Christmas, angels, etc. He

¹ He had earlier too, though very seldom, spoken of shooting dead and striking dead when he was very angry with his brother. Recently he has often enquired whom one may shoot dead, and declares, 'I may shoot dead anyone who wants to shoot me.'

did mention the devil again. He asked his sister what was in the encyclopedia. When she told him that one could look up in it everything that one did not know, he enquired 'Is there anything in it about the devil?' To her reply 'Yes, it says that there is no devil', he made no further comment. He seems to have constructed only one theory about death, as first appeared from his remarks about the L. children, 'then we shall come back again'. On another occasion he said, 'I would like to have wings and be able to fly. Have the birds got wings when they are still dead? One is dead already, isn't one, when one isn't there yet?' In this case too he did not wait for any answer and passed straight on to another subject. He made up phantasies at times afterwards about flying and having wings. When on one such occasion his sister told him about air-ships that take the place of wings for human beings, he was not very pleased. The subject of 'dying' gave him much preoccupation at this time. He once asked his father when he would die; he also told the servant that she would die some day, but only when she was very old, he added consolingly. In connection with this he said to me that when he died he would move only very slowly—like this (moving his index finger very slowly and very little)—and that I too when I died would only be able to move as slowly as that. Another time he asked me whether one never moves at all when asleep, and then said, 'Don't some people move and some not?' He saw a picture of Charles the Great in a book and learnt that he had died a long time ago. Thereupon he asked, 'And if I were the Emperor Charles would I have been dead already a long time?' He also asked if one did not eat for a very long time would one have to die then, and how long would it take before one died from it.

Pedagogic and psychological perspectives.

New vistas open before me when I compare my observations of this child's greatly enhanced mental powers under the influence of his newly acquired knowledge, with previous observations and experiences in cases of more or less unfavourable development. Honesty towards children, frank answering of all their questions, and the inner freedom which this brings about, influence mental development profoundly and beneficially. This safeguards thought from the tendency to repression which is the chief danger affecting it, i. e. from the withdrawal of instinctual energy with which goes a part of sublimation, and from the accompanying repression of ideational associations connected with the repressed complexes, whereby the sequence of thought is destroyed. In his article¹

¹ *Imago*, I, 1913.

Symbolische Darstellung des Lust- und Realitätsprinzips im Ödipus-Mythos

Ferenczi says, 'These tendencies that, owing to the cultural upbringing of the race and of the individual, have become highly painful to consciousness and are therefore repressed drag into repression with them a great number of other ideas and tendencies associated with these complexes and dissociate them from the free interchange of thoughts or at least prevent them from being handled with scientific reality.'

In this principal injury—i. e. to intellectual capacity, the shutting off of associations from the free interchange of thoughts—I think the *kind* of injury inflicted should also be taken into consideration: in what dimensions thought-processes had been affected, in how far the direction of thought, namely, in extent of breadth or depth, had been definitely influenced. The kind of injury responsible at this period of awakening intellect for the acceptance of ideas by consciousness, or their rejection as insufferable, would be of importance, in that this process persists as a prototype for life. The injury might occur in such a fashion that either 'penetration downwards' or else the 'quantity' occupying the broad dimension could be involved to a certain extent independently of one another.¹

In neither case probably would a mere change in the direction be effected, and the force withdrawn from the one dimension benefit the other. As may be inferred from all other forms of mental development resulting from powerful repression, the energy undergoing repression remains as a matter of fact 'bound'.

If natural curiosity and the impulse to enquire into unknown as well as previously surmised facts and phenomena is opposed, then the more profound enquiries (in which the child is unconsciously afraid that he might meet with forbidden, sinful things) are also repressed along with it. Simultaneously, however, all impulses to investigate deeper questions in general become also inhibited. A distaste for thorough investigation in and for itself is thus established and consequently the way opened for the innate irrepressible pleasure of asking questions to take effect merely upon the surface, to lead therefore to a merely superficial curiosity. Or on the other hand there may evolve the gifted type of person who is met so frequently in daily life and in science who, while possessed of a wealth of ideas, yet breaks down

¹ In Dr. Otto Gross's book *Die cerebrale Sekundärfunktion* (1902) he maintains there are two inferiority types, one due to a 'flattened' and one to a 'compressed' consciousness, the development of which he refers to 'typical constitutional changes of secondary functioning'.

over the profounder issues of execution. Here also belongs the adaptable, clever, practical type of person who can appreciate superficial realities, but is blind to those that are only to be found in deeper connections—who is not able to distinguish the actual from the authoritative in intellectual matters. The dread of having to recognize as false the ideas forced upon him by authority as true, the dread of having to maintain dispassionately that things repudiated and ignored do exist, have led him to avoid penetrating more deeply into his doubts and in general to flee from the depths. In these cases development may, I think, have been influenced by injury to the instinct for knowledge, and hence also the development of the reality sense, due to repression in the depth dimension.

If, however, the repression affects the impulse for knowledge in such a way that from aversion to concealed and repudiated things the uninhibited pleasure in asking about these forbidden things (and with it the pleasure of interrogation in general, the quantity of the investigating impulse) is 'bound', that is, is affected in its broad dimension, then the pre-condition for a subsequent lack of interests would be given. If therefore the child has overcome a certain inhibiting period in regard to his investigating impulse and this has either remained active or has returned, he can, hampered now by an aversion to attacking new questions, direct the whole efficiency of his remaining unfettered energy upon the profundities of a few individual problems. In this way would develop the 'researcher' type who, attracted by some one problem, can devote the labour of a lifetime to it without developing any particular interests outside the confined sphere which suits him. Another type of learned man is the investigator who, penetrating deeply, is capable of real knowledge and discovers new and important truths, but fails utterly in regard to the greater or smaller realities of daily life—who is absolutely unpractical. It does not explain this to say that being absorbed in great tasks he no longer honours the little ones with his attention. As Freud showed in his investigation of *parapraxis*, the withdrawal of attention is only a side-issue. It is of no import as the fundamental cause, as the mechanism by which the *parapraxis* came about; it can at most exercise a predisposing influence. Even if we can assume that a thinker who is occupied with great thoughts has little interest over for the affairs of daily life, yet we see him fail also in situations in which from sheer necessity he would be bound to have the requisite interest, but in which he fails because he cannot tackle them practically. That he has developed in this way is, I think, owing to the reason that at a time when he ought

to have recognized as real primarily tangible, simple, everyday things and ideas, he was hindered in this knowledge in some way—a condition which at this stage would certainly not be a withdrawal of attention in consequence of a lack of interest in what was simple and immediately at hand, but could only be repression. It might be assumed that at some earlier time, having become inhibited about the knowledge of other but repudiated primitive things surmised by him to be real, the knowledge of the things of daily life, of the original tangible things presented to him, was also drawn down into this inhibition and repression. There would remain open for him therefore—whether he turned to it at once or perhaps only after overcoming a certain period of inhibition—only the way into the depths; in accordance with the processes of childhood which constitute a prototype, he would avoid breadth and the surface. Consequently he has not trodden or become acquainted with a path that is now for ever impassable for him, and which even at a later date he cannot tread simply and naturally, as may be done without any particular interest if one is acquainted and familiar with it from early days. He has jumped over this stage, which is locked up in repression; just as on the contrary the other, the ‘utterly practical’ person, was only able to reach this stage but repressed all access to the stages that led deeper.

It often happens that children who show by their remarks (mostly before the onset of the latent period) outstanding mental ability, and seem to justify great hopes for their future, later fall behind and ultimately, though probably quite intelligent as adults, give no evidence of intellect above the average. The causes for this failure in development might include a greater or less injury to one or other dimension of the mind. This would be borne out by the fact that so many children who by their extraordinary pleasure in asking questions, and the number of them—or who by their constant investigations of the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of everything—fatigue those around them, yet after a time give it up and finally show little interest or superficiality of thought respectively. The fact that thinking—whether affected as a whole or in one or other dimension—could not expand in every direction in them, prevented the significant intellectual development for which as children they seemed destined. The important causes of injury to the impulse for knowledge and to the reality-sense, repudiation and denial of the sexual and primitive, set repression in operation by dissociation. At the same time, however, the impulse for knowledge and the reality-sense are threatened with another imminent danger, not a withdrawal but an imposition, a forcing

upon them of ready-made ideas, which are dealt out in such a fashion that the child's knowledge of reality dares not rebel and never even attempts to draw inferences or conclusions, whereby it is permanently and prejudicially affected.

We are apt to lay stress on the 'courage' of the thinker who, in opposition to usage and authority, succeeds in carrying out entirely original researches. It would not require so much 'courage' if it were not that children would need a quite peculiar spirit to think out for themselves, in opposition to the highest authorities, the ticklish subjects which are in part denied, in part forbidden. Although it is frequently observed that opposition develops the powers roused to overcome it, this certainly does not hold for the mental and intellectual development of children. To develop in opposition to any one does not signify any less dependence than submitting unconditionally to their authority; real intellectual independence develops between the two extremes. The conflict that the developing reality-sense has to wage with the innate tendency to repression, the process by which (as with the acquisitions of science and culture in the history of mankind) knowledge in individuals too must be painfully acquired, together with the unavoidable hindrances encountered in the external world, all these are amply sufficient as substitutes for the opposition supposed to act as an incitement to development, without endangering its independence. Anything else that has to be overcome in childhood—either as opposition or submission—any additional external resistance, is at least superfluous, but most often injurious because it acts as a check and a barrier.¹ Although great intellectual capacity may often be found alongside clearly recognizable inhibitions, still the former will not have been unaffected by prejudicial, hampering influences at the dawn of its activities. How much of an individual's intellectual equipment is only apparently his own, how much is dogmatic, theoretic and due to authority, not achieved for himself by his own free, unhampered thought! Although adult experience and insight have found the solution for some of the forbidden and apparently unanswerable questions—which are therefore doomed to repression—of childhood, this

¹ Undoubtedly every upbringing, even the most understanding, since it presupposes a certain amount of firmness, will cause a certain amount of resistance and submission. Just as it is unavoidable and is one of the necessities of cultural development and education that there should be a greater or less amount of repression. An upbringing that is founded on psycho-analytic knowledge will restrict this amount to a minimum, however, and will know how to avoid the inhibiting and damaging consequences to the mental organism.

nevertheless does not undo the hindrance to childish thought nor render it unimportant. For even if later on the adult individual is apparently able to surmount the barriers set up before his childish thought, nevertheless the way, be it defiance or fear, in which he deals with his intellectual limitations whatever they may be, remains the basis for the whole orientation and manner of his thought, unaffected by his later knowledge.

Permanent submission to the authority principle, permanent greater or less intellectual dependency and limitation, are based on this first and most significant experience of authority, on the relationship between the parents and the little child. Its effect is strengthened and supported by the mass of ethical and moral ideas that are presented duly complete to the child and which form just so many barriers to the freedom of his thought. Nevertheless—although they are presented to him as infallible—a more gifted childish intellect, whose capacity for resistance has been less damaged, can often wage a more or less successful battle against them. For although the authoritative manner of their introduction protects them, yet these various ideas must occasionally give proofs of their reality, and at such times it does not escape the more closely observant child that everything that is expected of him as so natural, good, right and proper, is not always considered in the same light in reference to themselves by the grown-ups who require it of him. Thus these ideas always afford points of attack against which an offensive, at least in the form of doubts, can be undertaken. But when the fundamental earlier inhibitions have been more or less overcome, the introduction of unverifiable, supernatural ideas introduces a new danger for thought. The idea of an invisible, omnipotent and omniscient deity is overwhelming for the child, all the more because two things markedly favour its affective force. The one is an innate need for authority. Freud says of this in *Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci*: 'Religiousness is traceable biologically to the long period of helplessness and need of help in the little child. When the child grows up and realizes his loneliness and weakness in the presence of the great forces of life, he perceives his condition as in childhood and seeks to disavow his desolation through a regressive revivification of the protecting forces of childhood.' As the child repeats the development of mankind he finds sustenance in this idea of the deity for his need for authority. But the innate omnipotence-feeling, too, 'the belief in the omnipotence of thought', which as we have learnt from Freud and from Ferenczi's *Entwicklungsstufen des Wirklichkeitssinnes*¹ are so deeply rooted and there-

¹ *Internationale Zeitschrift für ärztliche Psychoanalyse*, I, 1913.

fore permanent in man, the feeling of one's own omnipotence, welcomes the acceptance of the idea of God. His own omnipotence-feeling leads the child to assume it for his environment too. The idea of God, therefore, which equips authority with the most complete omnipotence, meets the child's omnipotence-feeling half-way by helping to establish the latter and also by assisting to prevent its decline. We know that in this respect too the parental complex is significant and that the way in which the omnipotence-feeling is strengthened or destroyed by the child's first serious affection determines his development as an optimist or pessimist, and also the alertness and enterprise, or the unduly hampering scepticism of his mentality. For the result of development not to be boundless utopianism and phantasy but optimism, a timely correction must be administered by thought. The 'powerful religious inhibition of thought' as Freud calls it, hinders the timely fundamental correction of the omnipotence-feeling by thought. It does so because it overwhelms thought by the authoritative introduction of a powerful insuperable authority, and the decline of the omnipotence-feeling which can only take place early and in stages with the help of thought is also interfered with. The complete development of the reality-principle as scientific thought, however, is intimately dependent upon the child's venturing betimes upon the settlement he must make for himself between the reality and the pleasure principles. If this settlement is successfully achieved then the omnipotence-feeling will be put on a certain basis of compromise as regards thought, and wish and phantasy will be recognized as belonging to the former, while the reality-principle will rule in the sphere of thought and established fact.¹

The idea of God, however, acts as a tremendous ally for this omnipotence-feeling, one that is almost insuperable because the childish mind—incapable of familiarising itself with this idea by accustomed means, but on the other hand too much impressed by its overwhelming authority to reject it—does not even dare attempt a struggle or a doubt against it. That the mind may later at some time perhaps overcome even this hindrance, although many thinkers and scientists have never surmounted this barrier and hence their work has ended at it, nevertheless does not undo the injury inflicted. This idea of God can so shatter the reality-sense that it dare not reject the incredible, the apparently unreal, and can so affect it that the recognition of the tangible, the near-

¹ Freud advances a peculiarly illuminating example for this in 'Formulierung über die zwei Prinzipien des psychischen Geschehens'. *Sammlung kleiner Schriften*. Dritte Folge. S. 275.

at-hand, the so-called 'obvious' things in intellectual matters, is repressed together with the deeper processes of thinking. It is certain, however, that to achieve this first stage of knowledge and inference without a check, to accept the simple as well as the wonderful only on one's own substantiations and deductions, to incorporate in one's mental equipment only what is really known, is to lay the foundations for a perfect uninhibited development of one's mind in every direction. The injury done can vary in kind and degree; it may affect the mind as a whole or in one or other dimension to a greater or less extent; it is certainly not obviated by a subsequent enlightened upbringing. Thus even after the primary and fundamental injuries to thought in earliest childhood, the inhibition set up later by the idea of God is still of importance. It does not therefore suffice merely to omit dogma and the methods of the confessional from the child's training, although their inhibiting effects on thought are more generally recognized. To introduce the idea of God into education and then leave it to individual development to deal with it is not by any manner of means to give the child its freedom in this respect. For by this authoritative introduction of the idea, at a time when the child is intellectually unprepared for and powerless against authority, his attitude in this matter is so much influenced that he can never again or only at the cost of great struggles and expense of energy free himself from it.

II

Early Analysis

The child's resistance to enlightenment.¹

The possibility and necessity of analysing children is an irrefutable deduction from the results of analyses of adult neurotics, which always trace back into childhood the causes of illness. In his analysis of little Hans,² Freud as in everything else has shown us the way—a way that has been followed and further explored by Dr. Hug-Hellmuth especially, as well as by others.

¹ A paper read before the Berlin Psycho-Analytic Society, February 1921.

² *Analyse der Phobie eines fünfjährigen Knaben. Sammlung kleiner Schriften Dritte Folge.*

Dr. Hug's very interesting and instructive paper delivered before the last Congress¹ gave much information as to how she varied the technique of analysis for children and adapted it to the needs of the child-mind. She dealt with analysis of children showing morbid or unfavourable developments of character, and remarked that she considered analysis was only adapted for children over six years of age.

I shall now, however, bring forward the question of what we learn from the analyses of adults and children that we could apply in regard to the mind of children under six, since it is well known that analyses of the neuroses reveal traumata and sources of injury in events, impressions or developments that occurred at a very early age, that is, before the sixth year. What does this information yield for prophylaxis? What can we *do* just at the age that analysis has taught us is so exceedingly important, not only for subsequent illnesses but also for the permanent formation of character and of intellectual development?

The first and most natural result of our knowledge will above all be the avoidance of factors which psycho-analysis has taught us to consider as grossly injurious to the child-mind. We shall therefore lay down as an unconditional necessity that the child, from birth, shall not share the parental bedroom; and we shall be more sparing of compulsory ethical requirements in regard to the tiny developing creature than people were with us. We shall allow him to remain for a longer period uninhibited and natural, less interfered with than has hitherto been the case, to become conscious of his different instinctive impulses and of his pleasure therein without immediately whipping up his cultural tendencies against this ingenuousness. We shall aim at a slower development that allows room for his instincts to become partially conscious, and together with this for their possible sublimation. At the same time we shall not refuse expression to his awakening sexual curiosity and shall satisfy it step by step even—in my opinion—withholding nothing. We shall know how to give him sufficient affection and yet avoid a harmful superfluity; above all we shall reject physical punishment and threats and secure the obedience necessary for upbringing by means of withdrawing affection. Yet other, more detailed, requirements of the kind might be set up that follow more or less naturally from our knowledge and that need not be gone into particularly here. Nor does it lie within the limits of this paper to go more closely into the question of how these demands can be fulfilled within the bounds of upbringing without

¹ Zur Technik der Kinderanalyse. *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, VII, 2, 1921.

injuring the development of the child as a civilized creature, nor burdening him with peculiar difficulties in his intercourse with a differently-minded environment.

Just now I shall only remark that these educational requirements can be carried out in practice (I have repeatedly had the opportunity of convincing myself of this) and that they are followed by distinctly good effects and by a much freer development in many ways. Much would be achieved if it were possible to make of them general principles for upbringing. Nevertheless, I must at once make a reservation. I am afraid that even where insight and goodwill would fain fulfil these requirements, the inner possibility for this might not always be present on the part of an unanalysed person. In the meantime, however, for the sake of simplicity, I shall deal only with the more favourable instance where both the conscious and the unconscious will have made these educational requirements their own and carry them out with good results. We now return to our original enquiry: in these circumstances can these prophylactic measures prevent the appearance of neuroses or of prejudicial developments of character? My observations have convinced me that even with this we often only achieve a part of what was aimed at, but have often actually made use only of a part of the requirements that our knowledge places at our disposition. For we learn from the analysis of neurotics that only a part of the injuries resulting from repression can be traced to wrong environmental or other prejudicial external conditions. Another and very important part is due to an attitude on the part of the child, present from the very tenderest years. The child frequently develops, on the basis of the repression of a strong sexual curiosity, an unconquerable disinclination to everything sexual that only a thorough analysis can later overcome. It is not always possible to discover from the analyses of adults—especially in a reconstruction—in how far the irksome conditions, in how far the neurotic predisposition, is responsible for the development of the neurosis. In this matter variable, indeterminate quantities are being dealt with. So much, however, is certain: that in strongly neurotic dispositions quite slight rebuffs from the environment often suffice to determine a marked resistance to all sexual enlightenment and a repression excessively burdensome to the mental constitution in general. We get confirmation of what we learn in the analysis of neurotics from observations on children, who afford us the opportunity of becoming acquainted with this development as it takes place. It appears, namely, in spite of all educational measures aiming amongst other things at an unreserved satisfying of sexual curiosity,

that this latter need is frequently not freely expressed. This negative attitude may take the most varying forms up to an absolute unwillingness to know. At times it appears as a displaced interest in something else which is often marked by a compulsive character. At times this attitude sets in only after partial enlightenment and then, instead of the lively interest hitherto displayed, the child manifests a strong resistance against accepting any further enlightenment and simply does not accept it.

In the case I discussed in detail in the first part of this paper the beneficial educational measures referred to above were employed with good results, particularly on the child's intellectual development. The child was enlightened in so far that he was informed about the development of the foetus within the maternal body and the birth-processes, with all the details which interested him. The father's part in the birth and the sexual act in general were not directly asked about. But even at that time I thought these questions were unconsciously affecting the boy. There were some questions that kept recurring frequently although they were answered in as detailed a fashion as possible. Here are a few examples; 'Please, mamma, where do the little tummy and the little head and the rest come from?'—'How can a person move himself, how can he make things, how can he work?'—'How does skin happen to grow on people?'—'How does it come to be there?' These and a few other questions recurred repeatedly during the period of enlightenment and during the two or three months immediately following that were characterised by the marked progress in development already referred to. I did not just at first attribute its full meaning to this frequent recurrence of these questions, which was partly due to the fact that in the general increase in the child's pleasure in asking questions its significance did not strike me. From the way his impulse for investigation and his intellect seemed to be developing I considered that demands for further enlightenment on his part were inevitable, and thought I ought to adhere to the principle of gradual enlightenment corresponding to the questions consciously asked.

After this period a change set in, in that mainly the questions already mentioned and others that were becoming stereotyped recurred again, while those due to an obvious impulse for investigation decreased and became mostly speculative in nature. At the same time preponderatingly superficial, thoughtless and apparently groundless questions put in their appearance. He would ask again and again what different things were made of and how they were made. For instance. 'What is the door made of?'—'What is the bed made of?'—'How is wood made?'—'How

is glass made?'—'How is the chair made?' Some of the trifling questions were, 'How does all the earth get under the earth?'—'Where do stones, where does water come from?' etc. There was no doubt that on the whole he had completely grasped the answer to these questions and that their recurrence had no intellectual basis. He showed too by his inattentive and absent-minded behaviour while putting the questions that he really was indifferent about the answers in spite of the fact that he asked them with great vehemence. The number of questions, however, had also increased. It was the well-known picture of the child who torments his environment with his often apparently quite meaningless questions and to whom no replies are of any help.

After this recent period, not quite two months in duration, of increased brooding and superficial questions, there was a change. The boy became taciturn and showed a marked distaste for play. He had never played much or imaginatively but had always been fond of movement games with other children. He would often too play at coachman or chauffeur for hours together, with a box, bench or chairs representing the various vehicles. But games and occupations of this kind ceased, and also the desire for the companionship of other children, with whom when he did come in contact with them he no longer knew what to be at. He finally even showed signs of boredom in his mother's company—a thing that had never occurred before. He also expressed dislike for being told stories by her, but was unchanged towards her in his tenderness and craving for affection. The absent-mindedness that he had often shown when asking questions also became now very frequent. Although this change could not but be noticed by an observant eye, still his condition could not be described as 'ill'. His sleep and general state of health were unexceptional. Although quiet, and, as a result of his lack of occupation, naughtier, he remained otherwise friendly, could be treated as usual and was cheerful. Undoubtedly too in recent months his inclination for food had left much to be desired; he began to be particular and showed marked distaste for certain dishes, but on the other hand, ate what he liked with a good appetite. He clung all the more passionately to his mother although, as stated, he was bored in her company. It was one of those changes that are usually either not noticed particularly by those in charge or, if they are, are not considered of any importance. Adults are generally so accustomed to notice passing or permanent changes in children without being able to find any reason for them that they are in the habit of regarding such variations in development as entirely normal, and to a certain extent with justice,

as there is hardly any child but shows some neurotic traits and it is only the subsequent development of these and their number that constitute disease. I was particularly struck by his disinclination to be told stories which was so utterly contrary to his former great enjoyment of them.

When I compared the strongly stimulated zest in questioning, which followed partial enlightenment and later became partly brooding, partly superficial, with the subsequent distaste for questions and the disinclination even to listen to stories, and when besides this I also recalled a few of the questions that had become stereotyped, I became convinced that the child's very powerful impulse for investigation had come into conflict with his equally powerful tendency to repression, and that the latter in refusing the explanations desired by his unconscious had entirely obtained the upper hand. After he had asked many and different questions as substitutes for those he had repressed he had in the further course of development come to the point where he avoided questioning altogether and listening as well, as the latter might, unasked, provide him with what he refused to have.

I should like to revert here to some remarks about the paths of repression that I made in the first part of this paper. I spoke there of the well-known injurious effects of repression upon the intellect, owing to the fact that the repressed instinctive force is bound and not available for sublimation and that along with the complexes thought-associations are also submerged in the unconscious. In connection with this I assumed that repression might affect the intellect along the whole of any developmental path, namely, both in the breadth and depth dimensions. Perhaps the two periods in the case I observed could in some way illustrate this previous assumption. Had the path for development been fixed at a stage when the child as a result of the repression of his sexual curiosity began to ask much and superficially, the intellectual injury might have occurred in the depth dimension. The associated stage of not asking and not wanting to hear might have led to the avoidance of the surface and of width of interest and to the exclusive direction into the depths.

After this digression I return to my original subject. My growing conviction that repressed sexual curiosity is one of the chief causes for mental changes in children was confirmed by the correctness of a hint that I had received a short time previously. In the discussion that followed my lecture to the Buda Pest society, Dr. Anton Freund had argued that my observations and classifications were certainly analytical but not my interpretation, as I had only taken the conscious and not also the unconscious questions into consideration. At the time I replied

that I was of opinion that it sufficed to deal with conscious questions so long as there was no convincing reason to the contrary. Now however I saw that his view was correct, that to deal only with conscious questions had proved to be insufficient.

I now held it advisable to give the child the remaining information that had so far been withheld from him. One of his questions at that time so infrequent, namely, which of all the plants grew from seeds, was taken as an opportunity to explain to him that human beings too came from seed and to enlighten him about the act of impregnation. He was absent-minded and inattentive, however, interrupted the explanation with another irrelevant question and showed absolutely no desire to inform himself about details. On another occasion he said that he had heard from the other children that for a hen to lay eggs a cock was needed too. He had hardly mentioned the subject, however, before he showed the obvious desire to be quit of it. He gave the distinct impression that he had entirely failed to comprehend this quite new piece of information and that he did not wish to comprehend it. Nor did the mental change previously described seem in anyway affected by this advance in enlightenment.

His mother, however, managed by a joke with which a little tale was connected to rouse his attention and win his approval again. She said as she gave him a sweetmeat that it had been waiting for him for a long time and made up a little story about it. He was greatly entertained at this and expressed the wish to have it repeated several times, and then listened with enjoyment to the story about the woman upon whose nose a sausage grew at her husband's wish. Then quite spontaneously he began to talk, and from then on he told longer or shorter phantastic stories, originating sometimes in ones he had been told but mostly entirely original and providing a mass of analytic material. Hitherto the child had shown as little tendency to tell stories as to play. In the period following the first explanation he had, it is true, shown a strong tendency to story-telling and made various attempts at it, but on the whole these had been rather exceptions. These stories, that had nothing even of the primitive art that children usually employ in their tales in imitation of adult performances, produced the effect of dreams from which the secondary elaboration was lacking. Sometimes they began with a dream of the preceding night and then continued as stories, but they were of just the same type when he began them at once as stories. He told them with enormous zest; from time to time as resistances occurred—in spite of careful interpretations—he would interrupt them,

only however to resume them again in a short time with enjoyment. I give a few excerpts from some of these phantasies:

'Two cows are walking together, then one jumps on to the back of the other and rides on her, and then the other one jumps on the other's horns and holds on tight. The calf jumps on to the cow's head too and holds tight on to the reins. (To the question what are the cows' names, he gives those of the maid-servants.) Then they go on together and go to hell; the old devil is there; he has such dark eyes he can't see anything but he knows there are people there. The young devil has dark eyes too. Then they go on to the castle that Tom Thumb saw; then they go inside with the man who was with them and go up into a room and prick themselves with the spin (spindle). Then they fall asleep for a hundred years; then they get up and go to the king, he is very pleased and asks them—the man, the woman and the children who were with them, whether they will not stay. (To my question as to what had become of the cows, 'They were there too and the calves also.')

—Church-yards and dying were being spoken of, whereupon he said, 'But when a soldier shoots someone he isn't buried, he just lies there because the driver of the hearse is a soldier too and he won't do it.' (When I ask 'Whom does he shoot for instance?' he first of all mentions his brother Karl, but then being a trifle alarmed, various other names of relations and acquaintances.¹ Here is a dream: 'My stick went on your head, then it took the press (tablecloth press) and pressed on it with that.'—On bidding good-morning to his mother he said after she had caressed him, 'I shall climb up on you; you are a mountain and I climb up you.' A little later he said, 'I can run better than you, I can run upstairs and you can't.'—After a further period he again began to ask a few questions with great ardour, 'How is wood made? How is the window-sill put together? How is stone made?' To the reply that they had always been like that, he said discontentedly, 'But what did it come out of?'

Hand in hand with this he began to play. He now played gladly and perseveringly, above all with others; with his brother or with friends he would play any conceivable thing, but he also began to play by himself. He played at hanging, declared that he had beheaded his brother and sister, boxed the ears of the decapitated heads and said, 'One can box the ears of this kind of head, they can't hit back', and called himself

¹ He had remarked shortly before, 'I would like to see some one die; not what they are like when they are already dead, but when they are dying, then I would see too what they are like when they are dead.'

a 'hanger'. On another occasion I noticed him playing the following game. The chess-men are people, one is a soldier, the other is a king. The soldier says 'dirty beast' to the king. Thereupon he is put in prison and condemned. Then he is beaten but he does not feel this because he is dead. The king enlarges the hole in the soldier's pedestal with his crown and then the soldier comes to life again; on being asked whether he will do that again, he says 'no'; then he is merely arrested. One of the first games played was as follows; he played with his trumpet and said he was an officer, a standard-bearer and a trumpeter all in one, and 'If papa were a trumpeter too and didn't take me to the war, then I would take my own trumpet and my gun and go to the war without him.'—He is playing with his little figures, amongst which are two dogs; one of them he has always called the beautiful and the other the dirty one. This time the dogs are gentlemen. The beautiful one is himself, the dirty one his father.

His games as well as his phantasies showed an extraordinary aggressiveness towards his father and also of course his already clearly indicated passion for his mother. At the same time he became talkative, cheerful, could play for hours with other children, and latterly showed such a progressive desire for every branch of knowledge and learning that in a very brief space of time and with very little assistance, he learnt to read. He showed such avidity in this connection as almost to seem precocious. His questions lost the stereotyped compulsive character. This change was undoubtedly the result of setting free his phantasy; my only occasional cautious interpretations merely served to a certain extent as an assistance in this matter. Before, however, I reproduce a conversation that strikes me as important I must refer to one point; the stomach had a peculiar significance for this child. In spite of information and repeated correction, he clung to the conception, expressed on various occasions, that children grow in the mother's stomach. In other ways too the stomach had a peculiar affective meaning for him. He would retort with 'stomach' in an apparently senseless way on all occasions. For instance, when another child said to him, 'Go into the garden' he answered, 'Go into your stomach'. He brought reproof upon himself because he repeatedly replied to the servants when they asked him where something was, 'In your stomach'. He would sometimes too complain at meal-times, though not often, of 'cold in the stomach', and declared it was from the cold water. He also displayed an active dislike for various cold dishes. About this time he expressed a curiosity to see his mother quite naked. Immediately afterwards he remarked,

'I would like to see your stomach too and the picture that is in your stomach.' To her question, 'Do you mean the place inside which you were?' he replied 'Yes! I would like to look inside your stomach and see whether there isn't a child there.' Somewhat later he remarked, 'I am very curious, I would like to know everything in the world.' To the question what it was he so very much wanted to know, he said, 'What your wiwi and your kaki-hole are like. I would like (laughing) to look inside when you are on the closet without your knowing and see your wiwi and your kaki-hole.' Some days later he suggested to his mother that they might all 'do kaki' on the closet at the same time and over one another, his mother, his brother and sisters and on top himself. Isolated remarks of his had already indicated his theory, clearly demonstrated in the following conversation, that children are made of food and are identical with faeces. He had spoken of his 'kakis' as naughty children who did not want to come; moreover, in this connection he had immediately agreed with the interpretation that the coals that in one of his phantasies ran up and downstairs, were his children. Once too he addressed his 'kaki' saying he would beat it because it came so slowly and was so hard.

I will now describe the conversation. He is sitting early in the morning on the chamber, and explains that the kakis are on the balcony already, have run upstairs again and don't want to go into the garden (as he has repeatedly designated the chamber). I ask him, 'These are the children then that grow in the stomach?' As I notice this interests him I continue, 'For the kakis are made from the food; real children are not made from food.' He, 'I know that, they are made of milk.' 'Oh no, they are made of something that papa makes and the egg that is inside mamma.' (He is very attentive now and asks me to explain.) When I begin once more about the little egg, he interrupts me, 'I know that.' I continue, 'Papa can make something with his wiwi that really looks rather like milk and is called seed; he makes it like doing wiwi only not so much. Mamma's wiwi is different to papa's' (he interrupts) 'I know *that!*' I say, 'Mamma's wiwi is like a hole. If papa puts his wiwi into mamma's wiwi and makes the seed there, then the seed runs in deeper into her body and when it meets with one of the little eggs that are inside mamma, then that little egg begins to grow and it becomes a child.' Fritz listened with great interest and said, 'I would so much like to see how a child is made inside like that.' I explain that this is impossible until he is big because it can't be done till then but that then he will do it himself. 'But then I would like to do it to mamma.' 'That can't be, mamma

can't be your wife for she is the wife of your papa, and then papa would have no wife.' 'But we could both do it to her.' I say, 'No, that can't be. Every man has only one wife. When you are big your mamma will be old. Then you will marry a beautiful young girl and she will be your wife.' He (nearly in tears and with quivering lips), 'But shan't we live in the same house together with mamma?' I, 'Certainly, and your mamma will always love you but she can't be your wife.' He then enquired about various details, how the child is fed in the maternal body, what the cord is made of, how it comes away, he was full of interest and no further resistance was to be noticed. At the end he said, 'But I would just once like to see how the child gets in and out.'

In connection with this conversation that solved his sexual theories to a certain extent, he showed for the first time a real interest in the hitherto rejected part of the explanation which he only now really assimilated. As occasional subsequent remarks have shown, he really has incorporated this information into the body of his knowledge. From this time on too his extraordinary interest in the stomach¹ decreased greatly. In spite of this I would not care to assert that it had been entirely stripped of its affective character and that he had quite given up this theory. As regards the partial persistence of an infantile sex theory in spite of it's having been rendered conscious, I once heard from Ferenczi the view that an infantile sex theory is to a certain extent an abstraction derived from pleasurable-toned functions, wherefore as the function continues to be pleasurable-toned a certain persistence of the theory results. Dr. Abraham in his paper before the last Congress *Über den weiblichen Kastrationskomplex*² showed that the origin of the formation of sexual theories is to be sought for in the child's disinclination to assimilate knowledge of the part played by the parent of the other sex. Róheim pointed to the same source for the sexual theories of primitive peoples. In this case the partial adherence to this theory might also have been due to the fact that I had only interpreted a part of the wealth of analytic material and that a part of the unconscious anal erotism was

¹ Part only of the symptom 'cold in the stomach' has been removed, namely, only in so far as it referred to the stomach. Later, though only infrequently, he declared he was 'cold in the belly'. The resistance to cold dishes has also persisted; the antipathy that had appeared in the last months to various dishes was generally unaffected by the analysis, only its object occasionally varied. His bowels usually act regularly but often slowly and with difficulty. The analysis has brought about no permanent alteration in this either, only occasional variations.

² Published in the International Journal of Psycho-Analysis. Vol. III. Pt. I.

still active. At any rate it was only with the solution of the sexual theory that resistance to the assimilation of knowledge of real sexual processes was overcome; in spite of a partial persistence¹ of his theory, the acceptance of the actual process was facilitated. To some extent he achieved a compromise between the theory still partly fixed in his unconscious and reality, as is best shown by one of his own remarks. He related another phantasy—it was nine months later, however—in which the womb figured as a completely furnished house, the stomach particularly was very fully equipped and was even possessed of a bath-tub and a soap-dish. He remarked himself about this phantasy, 'I know that it isn't really like that, but I see it that way.'

After this solution and acknowledgement of the actual processes, the Oedipus complex came very much to the fore. I give as an example the following dream-phantasy that he told me three days after the preceding conversation and that I partly interpreted for him. He begins with the description of a dream, 'There was a big motor that looked just like an electric car. It had seats too and there was a little motor that ran along with the big one. Their roofs could be opened up and then shut down when it rained. Then the motors went on and ran into an electric car and knocked it away. Then the big motor went on top of the electric car and drew the little one after it. And then they all got close together, the electric car and the two motors. The electric car had a connecting-rod too. You know what I mean? The big motor had a beautiful big silver iron thing and the little one had something like two little hooks. The little one was between the electric car and the motor. Then they drove up a high mountain and came down quickly again. The motors stayed there in the night too. When electric cars came they knocked them away and if any one did like that... with an arm they went backwards at once.' (I explain that the big motor is his *papa*, the electric car his *mamma* and the little motor himself, and that he has put himself between *papa* and *mamma* because he would so much like to put *papa* away altogether and to remain alone with his *mamma* and do with her what only *papa* is allowed to do.) After a little hesitation he agrees but continues quickly, 'The big and little motors then went away, they were in their house, they looked out of the window, it was a very big window. Then two big motors came. One was grandfather, the other was grandpapa. Grandmamma was not

¹ He once said at the mid-day meal, 'The dumplings will slide straight along the path into the canal', and another time, 'The marmalade is going straight into the wiwi (marmalade, however, is one of his antipathies).

there, she was (he hesitates a little and looks very solemn) . . . she was dead. (He looks at me, but as I remain quite unmoved, he goes on.)—And then they all drove down the mountain together. One chauffeur opened the doors with his foot; the other one opened with his feet the thing that one turns round (handle). The one chauffeur became sick, that was grandpapa (again he looks at me interrogatively but seeing me undisturbed continues). The other chauffeur said to him 'You dirty beast, do you want your ears boxed, I will knock you down at once.' (I enquire who the other chauffeur was?) He, 'Me. And then our soldiers throw them all down; they were all soldiers—and smash the motor and beat him and smear his face with coal and stuff coal in his mouth too; (re-assuringly) he thought it was a sweetie, you know, and that is why he took it and it was coal. Then everyone was a soldier and I was the officer. I had a beautiful uniform and (he holds himself erect) I held myself like this, and then they all followed me. They took his gun away from him; he could only walk like this (here he doubles himself up). He continues kindly, 'Then the soldiers gave him a decoration and a bayonet because they had taken his gun from him. I was the officer and mama was the nurse (in his games the nurse is always the officer's wife) and Karl and Lene and Anna (his brother and sisters) were my children and we had a lovely house too—it looked like the king's¹ house from the outside; it was not quite finished; there were no doors and the roof wasn't on but it was very beautiful. We made for ourselves what was wanting.' (He now accepts my interpretation of the meaning of the unfinished house, etc. without any particular difficulty.) 'The garden was very beautiful, it was up on the roof. I always took a ladder to get up to it. All the same I always managed to get up to it quite well, but I had to help Karl, Lene and Anna. The dining-room was very beautiful too and trees and flowers grew in it. It does not matter, it's quite easy, you put down some earth and then the things grow. Then grandpapa came into the garden quite quietly like this (he imitates the peculiar gait again), he had a shovel in his hand and wanted to bury something. Then the soldiers shoot at him and (again he looks very solemn) he dies.' After he has gone on talking for a long time about two blind kings of whom he now himself says that the one is his papa and the other his mamma's papa, he relates, 'The king had shoes as long as to America, you could get inside them and there was plenty of room.

¹ Once when his mother said endearingly to him 'my dollykins' he remarked 'say dollykins to Lene or Anna, it does better for a girl, but say 'my darling little king' to me.'

The long-clothes babies were put to bed in them at night.' Subsequent to this phantasy the pleasure in play was increased and became permanent. He now played alone for hours with the same amount of pleasure as it gave him to relate these phantasies.¹ He would also say straight out, 'Now I shall play what I told you', or 'I won't tell this but just play it.' Thus while unconscious phantasies are usually ventilated in play-activities, in this case it seemed probable, as no doubt in other similar cases, that the inhibition of phantasy was the cause of the play-inhibition, both of which were simultaneously removed. I observed that the games and occupations that had been previously pursued now dropped into the background. I mean especially the endless 'chauffeur, coachman, etc.' game that had generally consisted in his shoving benches, chairs or a box, up against one another and sitting on them. He had also never given up running to the window whenever he heard a vehicle pass and was quite unhappy if he ever missed one. He could put in hours standing at the window or at the front door mainly in order to look at the passing carriages. The vehemence and exclusiveness with which he pursued these occupations led me to consider them as of the nature of compulsions.²

Latterly, while he was shewing such marked boredom, he had given up also this play-substitute. When on one occasion in order to find an occupation for him he was urged to make a carriage in a new way as this would be so interesting, he replied, 'Nothing is interesting.' When, simultaneously with making phantasies, he took to playing, or more correctly, made his first proper start at playing, some of his games which he mostly concocted with the help of little figures, animals, people, carts and bricks consisted, it is true, in drives and changes of house; but these only constituted a part of his play that was carried on in the most varied ways and with a powerful development of phantasy such as he had never previously shewn. Usually it came finally to fights between Indians, robbers or peasants on the one hand and soldiers on the other, whereupon the latter were always represented by himself and his troops. It was mentioned at the end of the war when his father

¹ At this time he one morning made a 'tower' as he called it out of his bed-clothes, crept into it and announced 'Now I am the chimney-sweep and sweep the chimneys clean.'

² The interest in vehicles as well as in doors, locksmiths and locks is still strongly maintained, it therefore merely lost its compulsive and exclusive nature so that in this instance too the analysis did not affect the helpful repression but only overcame the compulsive force.

ceased being a soldier that he gave up his regimentals and equipment. The child was much struck by this, especially by the idea of delivering up the bayonet and rifle. Immediately afterwards he played that peasants were coming to steal something from the soldiers. The soldiers however maltreat them dreadfully and kill them.—The day after the motor phantasy he played the following game, which he explained to me, 'An Indian is put in prison by the soldiers. He admits that he was naughty to them. They say, 'We know that you were even naughtier than that.' They spit on him, do wiwi and kaki on him, put him in the closet and do everything on top of him. He screams and the wiwi goes right into his mouth. One soldier goes away and another one asks him, 'Where are you going?' 'To look for manure to throw on him. The naughty man does wiwi on a shovel and it is thrown in his face.' To my question as to what exactly he had done, he replied, 'He was naughty. He didn't let us go to the closet and do it there.' He then further relates that in the closet, along with the naughty person who was put there, there are two people making works of art.—At this time he repeatedly addressed the toilet paper with which he cleansed himself after a movement of the bowels in a derisive fashion, 'My dear sir, kindly eat it up.' In reply to a question he says that the paper is the devil who is to eat the kaki.—Another time he relates, 'A gentleman lost his tie, and he searched for it a lot. At last he finds it after all.'—Again he once related of the devil that his neck and his feet had been cut off. The neck could walk only when feet had been made for it. Now the devil could only lie, he could not walk on the road any more. Then people thought he had died. And once he looked out of the window; somebody held him, it was a soldier, and he pushed him out of window and then he died. This phantasy seemed to me to account for a (for him unusual) dread that had made its appearance a few weeks earlier. He was looking out of the window and the servant had stood behind him and held him; he displayed fear and only quietened when the girl let him alone. In a subsequent phantasy the fear shewed itself as the projection of his unconscious aggressive wishes¹—in a game in which an enemy officer

¹ Especially recently during this period of observation, he shewed occasionally both in phantasy as well as in his games a shrinking from, an alarm at, his own aggressiveness. He would sometimes say in the midst of an exciting game of robbers and Indians that he didn't want to play any more, that he was frightened, and at the same time he certainly did shew a tremendous effort to be brave. At that time too if he had knocked himself he would say, 'It's all right; that is the punishment because I was naughty.'

is killed, mishandled, and comes to life again. In reply to the enquiry as to who he is, says, 'I am papa, of course.' Thereupon everybody becomes very friendly with him and says (here Fritz' voice becomes very gentle), 'Yes, you are papa, then please come along here.'—In another phantasy in which in the same way the captain comes to life again after the most varied ill-treatment including blinding and insult, he relates that after that he was quite good to him and adds, 'I just gave him back what he had done to me and then I wasn't angry with him any more. If I hadn't given it back to him I would have been angry.'—He now very much likes to play with dough and says that he cooks in the closet.¹ (The closet is a little cardboard box with a depression in it that he uses in his games.)—While at play he shewed me once two soldiers and a nurse and said that those were himself and his brother and his mamma. To my question which of the two was him he said, 'The one that has something prickly down there is me.' I ask what is there down there that pricks? He, 'A wiwi.' 'And does that prick?' He, 'Not in the game, but really—no, I am wrong, not really but in the game.'—He related more and more numerous and extensive phantasies, very frequently about the devil but also about the captain, Indians, robbers and wild animals as well, towards whom both in his phantasies and his accompanying games his sadism was clearly shewn, as well as on the other hand his wishes associated with his mother. He often describes how he has put out the eyes, or cut off the tongue, of the devil or the enemy officer or the king, and he even possesses a gun that can bite like a water animal. He gets stronger and more powerful all the time, he cannot be killed in any way, he says repeatedly that his cannon is so big that it reaches to the skies.

I did not consider it necessary to make any further interpretations and at this time therefore only quite occasionally and more as a hint rendered this or that individual matter conscious. Moreover, I got the impression from the whole trend of his phantasies and games and from occasional remarks that part of his complexes had become conscious or at least preconscious for himself and I considered that this sufficed. Thus he remarked once as he sat on the chamber that he was going to make rolls. When his mother, falling in with him, said, 'Well, make your rolls quickly then,' he remarked, 'You are pleased if I have dough enough.' And added at once, 'I said dough instead of kaki.' 'How clever I am,' he remarked when he had done, 'I have made such a big

¹ As a little child he was for a time fond of modelling in sand or earth, but not for long or persistently.

person. If someone gave me dough I would make a person out of it. I only need something pointed for the eyes and buttons.'

Two months approximately had passed since I had started to give him occasional interpretations. My observations were now interrupted for an interval of more than two months. During this time anxiety (fear) made its appearance; this had already been foreshadowed by his refusing when playing with other children to carry on his latterly much-beloved games of robbers and Indians. Except for a time when he had had night-terrors between two and three years of age he had never apparently been subject to fear, or at any rate indications of it had not been observed. The anxiety now becoming manifest may therefore have been one of the symptoms rendered evident by the progress of the analysis. It was probably also due to his attempts at a more powerful repression of things that were becoming conscious. The release of fear was probably occasioned by listening to Grimm's fairy-tales, to which he had latterly become much attached and with which it was repeatedly associated.¹ The fact that his mother was indisposed for a few weeks and unable to concern herself much with the child who was otherwise very habituated to her, probably facilitated the conversion of libido into anxiety and may have had something to do with it. Fear was displayed mostly before falling asleep which was now often a lengthy business compared with formerly, and also by occasional fright starts out of sleep. But a set back was to be observed in other ways as well. His playing alone and story telling had greatly decreased, he was so zealous about learning to read as to seem decidedly over-zealous for he frequently wanted to learn for hours at a stretch and was constantly practising. He was also much naughtier and less cheerful.

When I again had an opportunity—although only occasionally—of concerning myself with the child, I obtained from him, but, contrary to what had previously been the case, only against very strong resistances, an account of a dream that had frightened him very much and of which he was still afraid even by day. He had been looking at picture-books with riders in them and the books opened and two men came out of them. He and his brothers and sisters clung to their mother and wanted to run away. They came to the door of a house and there a woman said to them, 'You can't hide here.' But they did hide all the same so that the men couldn't find them. He told this dream in spite of great resistances that increased so much when I began the interpretation that,

¹ Before the analysis was started he had a strong dislike to Grimm's fairy-tales, which when the change for the better set in became a marked preference.

not to overstimulate them, I made it very brief and left it incomplete. I got little in the way of associated ideas, merely that the men had had sticks, guns and bayonets in their hands. When I explained that these meant his father's big wiwi that he both wishes for and is afraid of, he retorted that 'the weapons were hard but the wiwi is soft.' I explained, however, that the wiwi too becomes hard just in connection with what he wishes to do himself, and he accepted the interpretation without much resistance. He then further related that it seemed to him sometimes as though the one man had stuck in the other and there was only one man!

Undoubtedly the hitherto little noticed homosexual component was now coming more to the fore, as is shown too in his subsequent dreams and phantasies. Here is another dream that was not however associated with feelings of fear. Everywhere, behind mirrors, doors etc. were wolves with long tongues hanging out. He shot them all down so that they died. He wasn't afraid because he was stronger than them. Subsequent phantasies also dealt with wolves. Once when he was frightened again before falling asleep, he said about it that he had been frightened of the hole in the wall where the light peeped in (an opening in the wall for heating purposes) because on the ceiling it looked like a hole too, and a man might get up from there with a ladder on to the roof. He also spoke about whether the devil did not sit in the hole in the stove. He recounted that he saw the following in a picture book. A lady is in his room. Suddenly she sees that the devil is sitting in the hole in the stove and his tail is sticking out. In the course of his associations it is shown that he was afraid that the man with the ladder might step on him, hurt him in the belly and finally he owns up that he was afraid for his wiwi.

Not long afterwards I heard the expression, now become very infrequent, of 'cold in the belly'. In a conversation about stomach and belly in connection with this, he related the following phantasy. 'There is a room in the stomach, in it there are tables and chairs. Someone sits down on a chair and lays his head on the table and then the whole house falls down, the ceiling on to the floor, the table too tumbles down, the house tumbles down.' To my question, 'Who is the someone and how did he get inside?' he answers, 'A little stick came through the wiwi into the belly and into the stomach that way.' In this instance he offered little resistance to my interpretation. I told him that he had imagined himself in his mamma's place and wished his papa might do with him what he does with her. But he is afraid (as he imagines his

mamma to be too) that if this stick—papa's wiwi—gets into his wiwi he will be hurt and then inside his belly, in his stomach, everything will be destroyed, too.—Another time he told about the dread he had for a particular Grimm's fairy-tale. It was the tale of a witch who offers a man poisoned food but he hands it on to his horse who dies of it. The child said he was afraid of witches because, all the same, it might be that it wasn't true what he had been told about there not being any witches really. There are queens also who are beautiful and yet who are witches too, and he would very much like to know what poison looks like, whether it is solid or fluid.¹ When I asked him why he was afraid of anything so bad from his mother, what had he done to her or wished about her, he admitted that when he was angry he had wished that she as well as his papa might die and that he had on occasion thought to himself 'dirty mamma'. He also acknowledged that he was angry with her when she forbade him to play with his wiwi. In the course of the conversation, moreover, it became apparent that he was also afraid of getting poison from a soldier, and a strange soldier too, who watched him, Fritz, in front of a shop-window when he put his feet up on a cart in order to jump on to it. In connection with my interpretation that the soldier is his papa who will punish him for his naughty intentions of jumping on to the cart—his mamma—he enquired about the sexual act itself which he had not hitherto done. How the man could put his wiwi in—whether papa would like to make another child—how big must one be to be able to make a child—whether auntie could do it with mamma, etc.? The resistance is once more lessened. To begin with before he starts relating things he enquires quite cheerfully whether what he finds 'horrid' will, after I have explained it to him, become pleasant again for him just as with the other things so far. He also says that he isn't afraid any more of the things that have been explained to him even when he thinks of them.

Unfortunately the meaning of the poison was not further cleared up, as no more associated ideas could be obtained. In general, interpretation by means of associations was only sometimes successful, usually subsequent ideas, dreams and stories, explained and completed what had gone before. This accounts too for my sometimes very incomplete interpretations.

¹ This seems to be the reason for the interest that had recently been manifested in the question how it is that water is fluid, and in general how it is that things are solid and fluid. The anxiety was probably already active in this interest.

In this case I had a great wealth of material that for the most part remained uninterpreted. As well as his dominant sexual theory, several other different birth-theories and trends of thought could be perceived, and while they apparently ran parallel with one another, now one, now another, was from time to time more in prominence. The witch in the last-mentioned phantasy only introduces a figure (at the time frequently recurring) that he had, it seems to me, obtained by division of the mother-imago. I see this too in the occasionally ambivalent attitude towards the female sex that has recently become evident in him. In general indeed, his attitude towards women as well as towards men is a very good one, but occasionally I observe that he considers little girls and also grown-up women with an unreasonable antipathy. This second female imago that he has split off from his beloved mother, in order to maintain her as she is, is the woman with the penis through whom, for him also apparently, the path leads to his now clearly indicated homosexuality. The symbol for the woman with the penis is in his case too the cow, an animal he does not like, while he is very much attached to the horse.¹ To give only one example of this, he shows disgust at the foam about the cow's mouth and declares she wants to spit at people with it, but that the horse wants to kiss him. That for him the cow represents the woman with the penis is unequivocally shown not only in his phantasies but also in various remarks. He has repeatedly on urinating identified penis with cow. For instance, 'The cow is letting down milk into the pot.' Or, as he opens his trousers, 'The cow is looking out of the window.' The poison that the witch hands him might probably be determined too by the theory of impregnation from eating which he also had had. Some months previously hardly anything was yet noticeable of this ambivalent attitude. When he heard someone say a certain lady was disgusting, he asked quite astonished, 'Can a lady be disgusting?'

He related another dream associated with feelings of anxiety and again with strong indications of resistance. He accounted for the impossibility of telling it by saying it was such a long one, he would need the whole day to tell it. I replied that then he would just tell me part of it. 'But it was just the length that was horrid,' was his reply. That this 'horrid length' was the wiwi of the giant about whom the dream was concerned soon dawned on him. It reappeared in various forms as an aeroplane that people brought to a building, where there were

¹ From the material obtained so far I am not yet quite clear about the meaning of the horse, it seems sometimes to represent a masculine, sometimes a feminine symbol.

no doors to be seen and no ground all round about it, and yet the windows were crowded with people. The giant himself was hung all over with people and snatched at him too. It was a phantasy of the maternal and paternal bodies as well as the wish for the father. His birth-theory too, however, the idea that he conceives and bears his father (at other times his mother) by the anal route, is also at work in this dream. At the end of this dream he is able to fly alone, and with the help of the other people who have already got out of the train, he locks the giant into the moving train and flies away with the key. He interpreted a great deal of this dream for himself along with me. Generally he was very interested in interpreting and would ask whether it was quite 'deep inside' him where he thought all the things that he didn't know about himself, and whether every grown-up could explain it, etc.

He remarked about another dream that it was pleasant but that he could only remember that there was an officer who had a big coat-collar and that he also put on a similar big coat-collar. They came out of somewhere together. It was dark and he fell. After the interpretation that it dealt again with his father and that he wanted a wivi similar to his, it suddenly occurred to him what the unpleasant thing had been. The officer had threatened him, had held him, not let him get up, etc. Of the free associations that he gave quite willingly this time, I shall only emphasize one detail that occurred to him in reference to the question where it was that he had come out of with the officer. The yard of a shop occurred to him that he had liked because there were little laden waggons that ran in and out of it on narrow rails—again the wish to do to mamma simultaneously with papa what the latter does with her, in which however he fails, whereupon he projects upon his father his own aggressiveness against the latter. Here too it seems to me that very powerful anal-erotic and homosexual determinants (indubitably present in the numerous devil-phantasies of where the devil lives in cavities or in a peculiar house) are at work.

After this period of approximately six weeks renewed observation, with the associated analysis, chiefly of the anxiety-dreams, the anxiety entirely disappeared. Sleep and going to sleep were once more impeccable. Play and sociability left nothing to be desired. Along with the anxiety there had been a mild phobia of street children. Its foundation in fact was that street boys had repeatedly threatened and annoyed him. He showed fear of crossing the street by himself and could not be persuaded to do so. Owing to the intervention of a recent journey I could not analyse this phobia. Apart from this, however, the child made an

excellent impression; when I had occasion to see him again a few months later this impression was strengthened. In the meantime he had lost his phobia in the following way, as he himself informed me. Soon after my departure he first of all ran across the street with his eyes shut. Then he ran across with his head turned away, and finally he walked across quite quietly. On the other hand, he showed (probably as a result of this attempt at self-cure—he assured me proudly that now he was afraid of nothing!) a decided disinclination for analysis and also an aversion to telling stories and to listening to fairy-tales; this was the only point however on which an unfavourable change had occurred. Was the apparently permanent—as I was able to satisfy myself six months later—cure of the phobia only a result of his attempted self-cure? Or not perhaps, at least in part, a subsequent effect of the treatment after it had stopped, as may often be observed with the disappearance of one or other symptom after an analysis.

Moreover I would rather not use the expression 'completed treatment' for this case. These observations with their only occasional interpretations could not be described as a treatment; I would rather describe it as a case of 'upbringing with analytic features'. For the same reason I should not like to assert that it was ended at the point up to which I have here described it. The display of so active a resistance to analysis, and the unwillingness to listen to fairy-tales seem to me in themselves to render it probable that his further upbringing will afford occasion for analytic measures from time to time.

This brings me to the conclusion I shall draw from this case. I am of the opinion that no upbringing should be without analytic help, because analysis affords such valuable and, from the point of view of prophylaxis, as yet incalculable assistance. Even if I can base this claim only on one case in which analysis proved very helpful as an aid to upbringing, yet on the other hand I am supported by many observations and experiences that I have been enabled to make on children who were brought up without the help of analysis. I will adduce only two instances of childish development¹ that are well-known to me and seem suitable as examples, as they led neither to neurosis nor to any abnormal development and are therefore to be reckoned as normal. The children concerned are very well-disposed and very sensibly and lovingly brought up. For instance, it was a principle of their upbringing that all questions were permitted and were gladly answered; in other respects too a greater

¹ The children are brother and sister in a family with which I am well acquainted, so that I have a detailed knowledge of their development.

degree of naturalness and freedom of opinion was allowed them than is generally the case, but though tenderly they were yet firmly guided. Only one of the children made use (and that only to a very limited extent) of the entire liberty to ask questions and obtain information for the purpose of sexual enlightenment. Much later—when he was almost grown up—the boy said that the correct answer given to his enquiry about birth had seemed to him completely inadequate and that this problem had continued to occupy his mind to a considerable extent. The information had probably not been complete, though it corresponded to the question asked, as it had not included the part played by the father. It is remarkable nevertheless that the boy, although privately pre-occupied with this problem, for reasons of which he himself was not aware, should never have asked any related questions as he had no occasion to doubt the willingness to answer him. This boy in his fourth year developed a phobia of intimate contact with other people—particularly adults—and in addition a phobia of beetles. These phobias lasted for a few years and were gradually almost conquered by the help of affection and habituation. The disgust for little creatures was never lost, however. Afterwards too the boy never showed any desire for society even if he no longer had any direct aversion to it. For the rest, he has developed well psychically, physically and intellectually and is normally healthy. But a marked unsociableness, reserve and retiredness into himself, as well as a few associated traits, seem to me to have remained as traces of the otherwise happily conquered phobias, and as permanent elements in the formation of his character.—The second example is a girl who showed herself in her first years of life to be really unusually gifted and eager for knowledge. From about her fifth year, however, the child's impulse for investigation weakened¹ very much and she gradually became superficial, had no zest for learning and no depth of interest, even though good intellectual capacities were undoubtedly present and she has, so far at least (she is now in her fifteenth year) shown only an average intellect. Even if the hitherto good and approved principles of education have achieved much for the cultural development of humanity, the upbringing of the individual has nevertheless remained, as the best pedagogues knew and know, an almost insoluble problem. Whoever has an opportunity of observing the development of children, and of occupying themselves more in detail with the characters of adults, knows that often the most gifted children suddenly fail without any discoverable cause and in the most various ways. A few who till then

¹ This child never asked for sexual enlightenment at all.

were good and amenable become shy and difficult to manage or downright rebellious and aggressive. Cheerful and friendly children become unsociable and reserved. With others whose intellectual gifts promised the rarest inflorescence, this is suddenly nipped in the bud. Brilliantly gifted children often fail over some little task and then lose courage and self-confidence. It often happens of course, too, that such difficulties of development are happily overcome. But the lesser difficulties that are often smoothed away by parental affection frequently appear again in later years as great insuperable ones that may then lead to a breakdown or at least to much suffering. The injuries and inhibitions affecting development are countless, not to speak of those individuals who later fall victims to neurosis.

Even if we recognize the need for introducing psycho-analysis into upbringing, this does not entail throwing over hitherto good and approved principles of education. Psycho-analysis would have to serve education as an assistant—as a completion—leaving untouched the foundations hitherto accepted as correct.¹ Really good pedagogues have at all times striven—unconsciously—towards what was right, and have endeavoured by love and understanding to get into touch with the deeper, sometimes so incomprehensible and apparently reprehensible, impulses of the child. Not the pedagogues but their expedients were to blame if they were unsuccessful or only partially successful in this endeavour. In Lily Braun's beautiful book, *Memoiren einer Sozialistin*, we read how in the endeavour to win the sympathy and confidence of her stepsons (boys, I think, of about ten and twelve years of age) she tried, taking as starting-point her approaching confinement, to enlighten them about sexual matters. She is saddened and helpless when she meets with open resist-

¹ In my experience I found that outwardly little in education was changed apparently. About eighteen months have elapsed from the date of the close of the observations here retailed. Little Fritz goes to school, adapts himself excellently to its requirements and is looked upon there as elsewhere as a well-brought-up child, who is quite unembarrassed and natural and behaves appropriately. The essential difference, hardly noticeable to the uninitiated observer, lies in a completely altered basic attitude as regards the relations of teacher and child. Thus while an absolutely frank and friendly relationship has evolved, pedagogic demands which otherwise often only prevail by the exercise of great authoritative emphasis and with difficulty are quite easily carried out, since the child's unconscious resistances to this have been overcome by the analysis. The result therefore of education with the help of analysis is that the child fulfils the usual educational requirements but on the basis of entirely different pre-suppositions.

ance and refusal and has to abandon the attempt. How many parents whose greatest endeavour is to preserve their children's love and trust are suddenly faced with a situation where—without understanding it—they have to acknowledge they have never really possessed either.

To return to the example that has here been described in detail. Upon what grounds was psycho-analysis introduced into the upbringing of this child? The boy was suffering from a play-inhibition that went hand in hand with an inhibition against listening to or telling stories. There were also an increasing taciturnity, hypercriticalness, absent-mindedness and unsociableness. Although the child's mental condition as a whole could not at this stage have been described as an 'illness', still one is justified in making assumptions by analogy about possible developments. These inhibitions as regards play, story-telling, listening, and further the hypercriticalness about trifles and the absentmindedness might at a later stage have developed into neurotic traits, and the taciturnity and unsociability into traits of character. I must here append the following as significant; the peculiarities indicated here had to some degree been present—though not so noticeably—since the child was very small; it was only as they developed and as others were added that they afforded the more striking impression that led to my regarding the interference of psycho-analysis as advisable. Before this, however, and also afterwards, he had an unusually thoughtful expression which, as he began to speak more fluently, had no relation to the normal, but in no way strikingly clever, remarks to which he gave utterance. His cheerful chattiness, his marked need for companionship, not only with children but also where adults are concerned with whom he converses equally gladly and freely, are now all in marked contrast with his former character.

I was, however, able to learn something else from this case, namely, how advantageous and necessary it is to intervene with analysis quite early in upbringing in order to prepare a relationship to the child's unconscious as soon as we can get in touch with his conscious. Then probably the inhibitions or neurotic traits could be easily removed as they were beginning to develop. There is no doubt that the normal three-year-old, probably indeed the still younger child, who so often shows such lively interests, is already intellectually capable of grasping the explanations given him as well as anything else. Probably much better than the older child, who is already affectively hampered in such matters by a more strongly fixed resistance, while the little child is far nearer to these natural things so long as upbringing has not extended

its injurious influences too far. *This* would be then, much more than in the case of this already five-year-old boy, an upbringing with the aid of analysis.

However great the hopes that might be associated with a general education of this kind for the individual and for the many, yet on the other hand a too far-reaching effect need not be feared. Wherever we find ourselves confronted with the unconscious of the quite tiny child, we shall certainly also find ourselves confronted with all his complexes complete. In how far are these complexes phylogenetic and innate, or in how far already ontogenetically acquired? According to A. Stärcke, the castration complex has an ontogenetic root for the infant in the periodical disappearance of the maternal breast which he considers to be a belonging of his. The dejection of faeces is regarded as another root for the castration complex. In the case of this boy, where threats were never used, and where pleasure in masturbation was pretty frankly and fearlessly shown, there was nevertheless a very strongly marked castration complex that had certainly developed partly on the basis of the Oedipus complex. In any case however in this complex, and indeed in complex-formation in general, the roots lie too deep for us to be able to penetrate down to them. In the case described, the foundations for his inhibitions and neurotic traits seem to me to reach back before the time even when he began to speak. It would certainly have been possible to overcome them earlier and much more easily than was done, though not to cut off entirely the activities of the complexes in which they originated. There is certainly no reason to fear a too far-reaching effect from early analysis, an effect that might endanger the cultural development of the individual and therewith the cultural riches of mankind. However far we may press forward there is always a barrier at which a halt must be called. Much that is unconscious and entangled with complexes will continue to be active in the development of art and culture. What early analysis can do is to afford protection from severe shocks and to overcome inhibitions. This will assist not only the health of the individual but culture as well, in that the overcoming of inhibitions will open up fresh possibilities of development. In the boy I watched it was striking how greatly his general interest was stimulated subsequent to the satisfying of a part of his unconscious questions, and how greatly his impulse for investigation flagged again because further unconscious questions had arisen and drawn his whole interest upon themselves.

It is evident therefore that, to go more into detail, the effectiveness of wishes and instinctive impulses can only be weakened by be-

coming conscious. I can however state from my own observations that, just as in the case of the adult, so also with the young child this occurs without any danger. It is true that beginning with the explanations and increasing markedly with the intervention of analysis, the boy showed a distinct change of character which was accompanied too by 'inconvenient' traits. The hitherto gentle and only occasionally aggressive boy became aggressive, quarrelsome, and this not only in his phantasies but in reality. Hand in hand with this went a decline in adult authority which is by no means identical with an incapacity to recognize others. A healthy scepticism that likes to see and understand what he is asked to believe is combined with a capacity to acknowledge the deserts or skill of others, particularly of his much-loved and admired father or also of his elder brother. Towards the female sex, due to other causes, however, he feels somewhat superior and rather protective. He shows the decline of authority chiefly by his comrade-like friendly attitude, which is the same in regard to his parents. He values highly being able to have his own opinion, his own wishes, but at the same time he finds obedience difficult. He is however easily taught better things and is generally obedient enough to please his adored mother in spite of its often being hard for him. Taken all round his upbringing offers no peculiar difficulties in spite of the 'inconvenient' traits that have appeared.

His well-developed capacity for being good is in no way diminished; it is, indeed, rather more stimulated. He gives easily and gladly, imposes sacrifices upon himself for people whom he loves; he is considerate and has his full share of 'kindheartedness'. Here we see too, what we have learnt also from the analysis of adults, that analysis does not affect these successful formations in any prejudicial way but rather enhances them. Hence it seems to me permissible to argue that early analysis too will not injure existing successful repressions, reaction-formations and sublimations, but on the contrary will open up possibilities for further sublimations.¹

Another difficulty as regards early analysis must still be mentioned. Owing to bringing into consciousness his incest-wishes, his passionate attachment to his mother is markedly shown in daily life, but no attempt is made to overstep the established limits in any way than is otherwise the case with affectionate little boys. His relationship with his father is in spite (or because) of his consciousness of his aggressive wishes an excellent one. In this instance too it is easier to control an emotion that is becoming conscious than one that is unconscious. Simultaneously

¹ In this case only their exaggeration and compulsive nature was overcome.

with acknowledging his incest-wishes, however, he is already making attempts to free himself from this passion and to achieve its transference to suitable objects. This seems to me to be inferred from one of the conversations quoted in which he ascertained with painful emotion that at least he would then live together with his mother. Other frequently repeated remarks also indicate that the process of liberation from the mother is already partly begun, or at least that an attempt at it will be made.¹

It may be hoped therefore that he will achieve his freedom from his mother by the proper path, that is, by the choice of an object resembling the mother-imago.

I have also heard little of the difficulties that might ensue from early analysis of a child in his contact with an environment thinking otherwise. The child is so sensitive to even the gentlest rebuffs that he knows quite well where he can count on understanding and where not. In this case the boy entirely gave up, after a few slight unsuccessful attempts, confiding in anyone except his mother and myself on these matters. At the same time he remained quite confiding with others in respect to other things.

Another matter too that might easily lead to inconvenience proves to be quite manageable. The child has a natural impulse to use the analysis also as a means to pleasure. At night when he should go to sleep he will state that an idea that must be discussed at once has occurred to him. Or he tries to draw attention to himself throughout the day by the same plea and comes along at unsuitable times with his phantasies, in short he tries in various ways to make the analysis the business of life. A counsel given me by Dr. Freund stood me in excellent stead in this matter. I set a certain time—even if this had occasionally to be changed—apart for the analysis, and although owing to our close daily association I was much with the child, this was steadfastly adhered to. The child acquiesced perfectly after a few unsuccessful endeavours. Similarly I firmly discouraged his attempts to vent in any other way something of the aggressiveness towards his parents and myself revealed by the

¹ Not during the period covered by these notes but almost a year later, after a declaration of his affection for her he again expressed his regret that he could not marry his mother. 'You will marry a beautiful girl whom you will love when you are big,' she replied. 'Yes,' said he, already quite consoled, 'but she must look just like you, with a face the same and the same hair and she must be called Mrs. Walter W. just like you!' (Walter is not only his father's name but also his second name.)

analysis, and demanded the usual standard of manners from him; in these things he also very soon acquiesced. Although one was dealing here with a child over five years old and therefore more sensible, still I am sure that with a younger child too ways and means can be found to obviate these drawbacks. For one thing with a younger child it will not be so much a matter of detailed conversations but rather of occasional interpretations either during play or at other opportunities, which will probably be accepted more easily and naturally than by the older child. Moreover it has always been the duty of even the hitherto customary upbringing to teach the child the difference between phantasy and reality, between truth and untruth. The difference between wishing and doing (later too the expression of wishes) can easily be linked up with these. Children in general are so teachable and culturally endowed that they will surely learn easily enough that while they can think and wish everything, only a part of this can be carried into effect.

I think, moreover, that there is no need for such anxiety about these things. No upbringing is possible without difficulties, and certainly those acting rather from without inwards represent a lesser burden for the child than those acting unconsciously from within. If one is inwardly thoroughly convinced of the rightness of this method, then with a little experience the external difficulties will be overcome. I think too that a child who is psychically more robust, due to the operation of an early analysis, is able to support more easily an unavoidable trouble unharmed.

The question whether every child requires this assistance may well be asked. Undoubtedly there are entirely healthy, excellently developed, all-round people and there certainly are also similar children who show no neurotic traits, or have got over them undamaged. From analytic experience it may at any rate be asserted that the adults and children to whom the above applies are comparatively few. Freud in his *Analyse der Phobie eines fünfjährigen Knaben*¹ expressly mentions that no harm but only good accrued to little Hans from becoming fully conscious of his Oedipus complex. Freud thinks that little Hans' phobia differs from the extraordinarily frequent phobias of other children only in that it was noticed. He shows that it 'to a certain extent represented an advantage for him, as now he is perhaps ahead of other children, since he no longer bears within him that germ of repressed complexes that must always have some import for later life and to which in some degree the development of character, if not the disposition to a subsequent

¹ *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre. Dritte Folge. S. 119.*

neurosis, is certainly due'. Of the rest Freud says that 'no sharp line can be drawn between nervous and normal children, that disease is a purely practical summation idea, that disposition and experience must combine for the attainment of this summation, that in consequence many healthy people pass over into the category of the nervous' etc. He writes (p. 690), in *Der Geschichte einer infantilen Neurose*¹: 'It will be objected that few children escape such disturbances as a temporary dislike for food or a phobia for an animal. This is a very welcome argument, however. I am prepared to assert that every neurosis in the adult is erected upon the foundation of neurosis in childhood, but that this latter is not always severe enough to attract attention and to be recognized as such.'

It would therefore be advisable with most children to pay attention to their dawning neurotic traits; if however we wish to get hold of and remove these traits, then the earliest possible intervention of analytic observation and occasionally of actual analysis becomes an absolute necessity. I think a kind of norm might be set up in this matter. If a child, at the time when his interest in himself and his environment is aroused and expressed, shows sexual curiosity and endeavours step by step to satisfy it; if he shows no inhibitions in this and fully assimilates the enlightenment received; if also in games and phantasies he lives through a part of his instinctive impulses, especially of the Oedipus complex, uninhibited; if for instance he listens with pleasure to Grimm's fairy-tales without subsequent anxiety-manifestations and shows himself mentally well-balanced in this also, then in these circumstances early analysis could probably be omitted, although even in these not too frequent cases it might also be employed with benefit, as many inhibitions from which even the best-developed people suffer or have suffered would thereby be overcome.

I have particularly selected listening to Grimm's tales without anxiety-manifestations as an indication of the mental health of children, because of all the various children known to me there are only very few who do so. Probably partly from a desire to avoid this discharge of anxiety, a number of modified versions of these tales have appeared and in modern education other less terrifying tales, ones that do not touch so much—pleasurably and painfully—upon repressed complexes are preferred. I am of opinion, however, that with the assistance of analysis there is no need to avoid these tales but that they can be used directly as a standard and an expedient. The child's latent fear depending

¹ *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre. Fünfte Folge.*

upon repression is more easily rendered manifest by their help and can then be more thoroughly dealt with by analysis.

How can upbringing on psycho-analytic principles be carried out in practice? The requirement so firmly established by analytic experience that parents, nurses and teachers should themselves be analysed will probably remain a pious wish for a long time yet. And even if this wish were fulfilled we should indeed probably have some assurance that the helpful measures mentioned in the beginning would be carried out but not by any means of the possibility of early analysis. I would here like to make a suggestion that is only a counsel of necessity but that transitionally might be efficacious until other times bring other possibilities. I mean the founding of Kindergartens at the head of which there will be women analysts. There is no doubt that a woman analyst who has under her a few nurses trained by her can observe a whole crowd of children so as to recognize the suitability of analytic intervention and to carry it out forthwith. It may of course be objected amongst other things that in this way the child would at a very early age be to some extent withdrawn psychically from its mother. I think however that the child has so much to gain in this way that the mother ultimately would win back in other directions what she had perhaps lost in this one.

SOCIAL CONSIDERATIONS IN SOME ANALYSES

BY

S. FERENCZI

BUDAPEST

1. *The 'Family-Romance' of a Lowered Social Position*

Some years ago I received a telegram from a fashionable winter resort, asking me to act as consultant in the case of a certain young Countess. The summons came as rather a surprise. Psycho-analysis, especially in those days, had not aroused any great interest in aristocratic circles, and in any case, although I was on friendly terms with the physician calling me in, he could scarcely be regarded as an enthusiastic supporter of our science.

The history of the case which was communicated to me on arrival soon solved the mystery. The young lady had broken her leg tobogganning, and whilst in a state of unconsciousness following the accident had screamed out the most obscene oaths and generally used foul language and invective of a quite outrageous kind; since then there had been a few seizures of the same type, and the family physician, concluding that this might well be 'a case of hysteria of the Freudian type', called me in to see her.

On the days following my arrival, I was able to take a kind of rough psycho-analytical history of the case. The patient was an attractive girl of nineteen. Her rather tender-hearted father had pampered her; her mother on the other hand, although attentive and affectionate, treated her a shade more strictly. She had already a strong transference to the doctor who about eight days before had put the limb in plaster; her attitude towards myself was much more reserved. Still, with the assistance of my colleague and of her parents I was able to piece together the following details. The patient had always behaved in a curious fashion; whenever possible she escaped from the private quarters of the Castle down to the servants' hall. Her special friend here was a nurse, whom since earliest childhood she had treated as a confidante.

When the Countess was sixteen this nurse left the castle and went to live on a distant part of the estate; nevertheless, till she was eighteen our patient continued to visit her crony there; indeed, often spent whole days at a time with her, helped her in her housework, scrubbed floors, fed the cattle, cleaned out stalls, etc., all in opposition to her parents' wishes. She detested the society of people of her own class; and only with the greatest difficulty could she be induced to pay calls or receive visitors, only indeed when these social activities were quite unavoidable. Aristocratic suitors, no matter how eligible, were sent brusquely about their business.

Some years before she had suffered from a neurosis which her mother described to me as follows: The patient became suddenly depressed and tearful but would confide to no one the cause of her grief. In the hope that social amusement would cheer her up, the mother took her to Vienna, but in spite of this the emotional condition remained unaltered. One night she came to her mother's bedroom in tears, crept into her bed and made a clean breast of her trouble. She was weighed down by a terrible fear: she feared that she had been raped by someone whilst in a state of unconsciousness. The attack had probably been made on an occasion when, after accompanying her mother to the railway station, she had driven back to the castle in the family carriage, a journey lasting not more than five minutes. On the way back she felt ill and probably, she thought, lost consciousness: the coachman had taken advantage of her condition to assault her. She couldn't actually remember whether the latter had really done anything to her; she only knew that when she revived the coachman said something or other to her, exactly what she didn't know. Her mother tried to reassure her that her anxiety could have no basis in reality, pointing out that an attack of this kind could not possibly have been made on her by daylight in an open carriage on a busy high-road. Nevertheless, the girl's anxiety was not allayed until her mother had taken her to a number of eminent gynæcologists, all of whom were able to assure her after examination that she was *virgo intacta*.

During my two days stay in the district I became convinced that the case was one of hysteria with traumatic exacerbation, that there was a definite relation between the coarse obscenity of the patient, her infatuation for the peasant-woman and the defloration-phantasy, and that psycho-analysis alone could explain the condition. Without going further, I was able to hazard a guess, which was confirmed by witnesses of the accident, viz: that the accident was really deliberate, due perhaps to some tendency towards self-punishment. I learned subsequently that

instead of psychotherapeutic treatment, as I suggested, the patient underwent convalescent surgical treatment in a sanatorium, showed increasing interest in surgery, worked as a nurse during the war, and in spite of parental opposition married a young surgeon of Jewish extraction.

I had no opportunity of filling the gaps in this case-history by analytical observation, but there can be no doubt that the case exemplified a reverse of the neurotic Family-Romance: one of sinking in the social scale. The usual forms of the neurotic romance represent a phantasy of parental ennoblement: the parents are raised from modest or even poor surroundings to aristocratic and sometimes to royal station. The work of Rank on mythology has shown us that in the best-known hero-myths (Moses, Oedipus, Romulus and Remus, etc.) a similar story is to be found; all are of noble birth, are brought up by poor country folk (or even by animals) and in the end regain their rank. He holds the very plausible view that these rustic (or animal) foster-parents, on the one hand, and the aristocratic parents, on the other, constitute merely a *reduplication* of the parental imago in general.

Now whilst in myth these 'primitive' parents are generally treated as provisional figures which ultimately make way for parents of high rank, in this case the yearning was from an aristocratic to a primitive environment. Irrational as this longing may appear, it is by no means unique. A whole series of observations on young children has shown me that many children feel much more at home with the peasant class, with the house-servants and people of lowly origin, than in their own more cultivated milieu. Frequently this takes the form of a longing to lead a nomad gypsy life, or indeed to be turned into some creature or other. An untrammelled love-life (incestuous, of course, in addition) has an irresistible appeal for these children; to attain this freedom they are prepared to sacrifice rank and position. One might in this sense speak of helpful underlings and gypsies who abet the child's sexual needs, just as helpful animals are spoken of in fairy-tales.

As is well known, this tendency to return to nature is sometimes carried out in reality: innumerable stories are told, and repeated with alacrity, of affairs between countesses and coachmen or chauffeurs, or between princesses and gypsies. The great interest such tales arouse has its origin in tendencies common to all.

2. *Mental Disturbance as a result of Social Advancement*

I have a series of observations on neurotics with whom social advancement of the family, at a time when the patients were young children,

chiefly in the latent period, proved a most significant etiological factor. Three of the cases were men suffering from sexual impotence; another was that of a woman with *tic convulsif*. Two of the impotent cases happened to be cousins, whose parents became wealthy and 'refined'—both at the same time, viz., when the children were seven to nine years old. All three impotence cases had gone through an infantile period of 'polymorphous perverse' sexuality of more than ordinary intensity and variety. There had in fact been nothing in the way of control or conventional restraint during this stage. At the age noted they came to live under refined conditions to which they were entirely unaccustomed, and to a large extent had to exchange a rustic environment for the social conditions of town and city life. They lost by this exchange their former composure and self-confidence; the more so that their previous lack of restraint necessitated a specially vigorous reaction-formation, if they were to conform even partly to the ego-ideal standards of the new and more refined milieu. It is in no way surprising that this wave of repression involved in a very marked degree their sexual aggressiveness and genital capacity.

In all these cases, but even more with the *tic* patient, I found a condition of narcissism widely exceeding normal limits: this was evidenced by excessive 'touchiness'. They took the slightest remissness in salutation as a personal injury; they all suffered from an 'invitation complex', and were capable of returning a personal slight with lifelong hatred. Naturally there was hidden behind this sensitiveness a feeling of their own social inferiority, but more particularly of the unconscious operation of 'perverse' sexual excitations. The *tic* patient and one of the cases of impotence had this additional factor in common, that their advancement during the latent period was not merely social but moral in nature: they were both legitimized during that period. A younger sister of the *ticqueuse*, and the older and younger brothers of one of the impotence cases were not affected, perhaps because the change in surroundings was effected either before the close of the infantile sexuality period or when the stage of puberty had already commenced: in both cases the change could lead to no more harm. The latent period is of extraordinary importance as the time during which character-traits are formed and the ego-ideal built up. Disturbance of this process, due perhaps to alteration of the moral standards of life with unavoidable conflict between ego and sexual instincts, may lead much more often than we have hitherto supposed to the development of neurosis.

AN OCTOGENARIAN'S BLUNDER

BY

KARL ABRAHAM

BERLIN

In the *Berliner Tageblatt*, March 25, 1922, there appeared a humorous article by the actor, Ludwig Barnay, who had recently celebrated his eightieth birthday, on the marks of honour he had received both in former days and again recently. He mentioned jokingly that all the tokens of esteem which otherwise were only customary for the dead had fallen to him during his life-time. In one town a monument had been erected to him; in another a commemoration tablet had been put up on his dwelling-house; in a third a street had been named after him. He then raised the question what honours were left for him after his death, and gave the following reply:

'At all events, burial, the usual funeral ceremony, and an obituary notice in the public press. But the funeral procession will even have to do without this three-fold celebration, since I have arranged in my will that my demise shall not take place before my cremation has taken place.'

The blunder which appears in the last sentence shows very clearly the writer's wish not to die at all, and gives us a good insight into the deep unconscious conviction of every human being's idea of his own indestructibility.

It is worth noting that the words 'take place' are not the ones which ought to have been used. The right phrase should have been something like, 'My demise shall not be made known ...' The blunder, however, was apparently aided by the words 'take place' contained in the same sentence.

No less interesting psycho-analytically is the fact that neither the editor nor the proof-reader had noticed the writer's mistake. I might add that readers of the paper had also read the passage without noticing the error, which indicates that they unconsciously sympathized with the writer's feelings.

MINOR CONTRIBUTIONS

BY

H. W. FRINK

NEW YORK

I

An Error in Writing

For many years I have been on friendly terms with a certain couple who often ask my advice about their affairs. I had long recognized, privately, that the wife was a case of *pseudologia phantastica*. On one occasion the husband came to consult me about what he considered to be a rather serious situation that his wife had told him about. I soon saw that the situation she had described had no reality outside her imagination; the whole story was simply one of her fabrications. The husband, however, had not even questioned the truth of her narrative, and I realized that in order to prevent their getting into trouble I must accept the unpleasant task of telling him that his wife was a pathological liar and that her reports of the supposed situation were merely a manifestation of this morbid tendency. He was evidently considerably shocked by what I told him, but saw at once that I was right.

A week or so later I happened to meet his wife, who, of course, knew nothing of my conversation with her husband. After a few minutes' talk she said, 'Oh, I want to tell you something about John that I think would interest you. For a few days recently he couldn't write my name correctly! Every time he tried to write it—as, for instance, in making out a check to me—he'd leave out the "c".'

The wife's name is Alice. He had written 'Alie' (A-lie).

II

The Cat as a Genital Symbol

In the first few days of an analysis a young female patient dreamed that a cat was repeatedly biting her finger. She tried desperately to make him stop, but without avail.

After a few minutes she herself discovered the significance of the dream. The pussy injuring the finger really represents the finger injuring

the 'pussy', i. e., masturbation. Her efforts to make the cat stop correspond to her fruitless struggle against the habit.

The significance of the dream is, of course, not exhausted by this interpretation.

III

The Symbolism of Baseball

During the analysis of a male patient who in his younger days had been a baseball pitcher of some note he was describing the intense pleasure which pitching had afforded him. The feeling of freedom and power in pitching a fast ball, the course of the ball through the air, the sense of being able to control by his will the course of the ball after it left his hand (of course an illusory one), the ability to pitch baffling curves, the admiration and applause of the crowd, were all infinitely pleasurable. To be a good pitcher had been his greatest ambition during his school and college days.

During his narrative there suddenly dawned upon him the suspicion that, in some way he did not yet understand, playing baseball had something to do with urination. A little later he recalled the competitions carried on with other boys in his childhood to see which could urinate the farthest—a game in which he had always excelled—and then he realized that in these practices he had experienced almost identically the same qualities of pleasure that later accompanied pitching. At length it was revealed that pitching had afforded an almost perfect sublimation for all the impulses involved in the childhood urination-play. Each element in the childhood game found its sublimated or symbolic equivalent in baseball. Thus, the curving, parabolic course of the pitched ball corresponded to the stream of urine. The sense of power and achievement connected with pitching a swift, sharply curving ball had been earlier connected with squirting to long distances a strong stream of urine. The lateral curves produced seemingly at will in the pitched ball corresponded to the waving of the stream of urine from side to side. The similarity of the other elements, such as those of ambition, rivalry, exhibitionism, and male companionship, hardly need be mentioned. (That a connection exists between urethral erotism and ambition has long been recognized.)

Baseball not only represented a sublimation for urethral erotism in the waking life of the patient, but, in his dreams, playing baseball symbolized urination and sometimes ejaculation. The same symbolism was revealed in the dream of a second male patient, while in a third (an enthusiastic golfer) driving the golf ball had the same significance. The material at hand is of course insufficient to indicate whether such symbolism is a general one, or merely specific for a few individuals.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS AND SUPERSTITION

BY

N. OSSIPOW

PRAGUE

The following incident seems to me to afford a particularly lucid illustration of the difference between the psycho-analytical point of view and superstition.

It is an example taken from my own life. I married when I was still a student in my last year. The wedding took place in a provincial town, far away from my home, Moscow, where my parents and sisters lived. They did not know my bride and were not present at my marriage. We were to travel to Moscow, a journey of nearly twenty-four hours, arrive there at midday and, after spending a few hours with my family, leave on the same day to travel abroad. Our tickets and sleeping berths had already been booked for Berlin. At one of the stations on the way, about two hours from Moscow, I got out of the train to walk up and down the platform; my wife remained in the carriage. Suddenly, I do not know why, I had an impulse to walk through the station to the street and from there have a look at the town. I obeyed my impulse, calculating that the train would stop at least ten minutes. When I returned to the platform after a few minutes, the train had already gone. All I could see of it was the last coach! My situation was by no means pleasant. Fortunately a goods train ran half an hour later, which took me to Moscow and, on the whole, everything passed off satisfactorily. But my old nurse shook her head and kept on saying, 'No good will come of this marriage.' Of course I laughed at her, convinced that all these superstitions were nonsense. My wife and I were separated after five months.

The town where I had so inauspiciously got out of the train later on played a large part in my life. For someone with whom my fate was afterwards closely connected lived there.

According to Freud my behaviour, that is, the fact that I left the train, that I showed an interest in the town, and that I gave the train

time to carry my wife away, was a symptomatic act: or, in other words, a symptom of my unconscious aversion to this marriage.

Let us examine the doubts which are prompted by this explanation.

1. The incident can be explained by saying that it was an *accident*. A statement of this kind can hardly be disproved, but one might just as well refuse to make investigations into anything. This attitude passes the bounds of scepticism. For the sceptic argues, 'It may be this or it may be that, or neither.' He takes up a position of doubt. But to maintain that all occurrences of this kind are accidental is to deny the value of all research; it is pure nihilism.

2. A consideration of all the facts, in addition to my own evidence, excludes any idea of a conscious motive for my behaviour. A conscious protest against this marriage did not exist at the time; and had it done so, I should surely have expressed it in some other way than by this senseless behaviour.

3. One may take the view that I loitered on the station through 'absent-mindedness', but this trait plays absolutely no part in my character. This was the first and last time (it was twenty years ago) that anything of the kind has happened to me.

It was an *unconscious protest*.

Now, what can be said about the prediction of my nurse? Does not Freud teach us to keep superstitions and prejudices apart? Of course not. Neither Freud nor my old nurse believe that these incidents are accidental. They are symptomatic. Freud holds one's own unconscious thoughts responsible for them, while my nurse ascribes them to the agency of an external power. And here lies the fundamental difference between Freud and a superstitious person.

The mystic, without being exactly superstitious, might argue that my behaviour foretold my future: my separation from my wife, and my close intimacy with the person who lived in this town. Without going into the question of mysticism as such, I will merely point out the difference between psycho-analytical and mystical interpretations in this example. The psycho-analytical standpoint is, 'I got out of the train owing to an existing, though unconscious protest': the mystical, 'I left the train, because it was the home of the person with whom my fate would in the future closely connect me.'

It is to be noted that not only was I unaware at the time of my future connection with this town, but I was still unacquainted with this person; moreover, I did not even know that such a person existed. This fact is no obstacle to the mystic in his interpretation, but it has considerable value for an empirical scientist, like Freud.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AN ALTERATION OF NAME

BY

MONROE A. MEYER

NEW YORK

A patient who was about to enter into analysis had occasion to order some visiting cards. On the impulse of the moment he decided to stop using his middle name and accordingly instructed the engraver to make a new plate with the middle initial omitted. Thereafter he consistently signed his name without the middle initial, though formerly he had always used it, and likewise he omitted it from his letterheads, etc.

Months later, in the course of the treatment, this apparently insignificant matter came up for discussion, and the patient offered what he termed a 'simple explanation' for it. He stated that he had been obliged to look up his birth certificate just prior to ordering the visiting cards and, noticing that his middle name was not recorded in the document, vaguely felt that he ought to dispense with it, since it was not, strictly speaking, a part of his legal designation. During the next few days the impulse gradually became stronger and was finally carried out under the circumstances related.

The patient expressed complete satisfaction with this explanation, but when free associations were obtained it was demonstrated that the act of dropping the name owed its origin to causes quite other than the 'reasons' offered by the patient. Indeed, his explanation was a typical rationalization.

It was under very special circumstances that the patient had acquired the name in question. At the age of six he had contracted one of the more serious of the childhood diseases in a severe form, and his life was despaired of. Now, it is the custom among Jewish people to give an additional name to a child who is desperately ill, almost as if the disease were like a curse directed specifically against a person of a particular name, who might, by having his name altered, escape the curse. The patient's parents, pious Jews, resorted to this expedient, and thus it was that he came into possession of his middle name.

Now, while an additional name acquired under such circumstances might be legalized and incorporated into a birth certificate, it is unlikely that such a procedure would be instituted, both because of the expense involved and the absence of any practical purpose to be served. Indeed, the patient admitted his having suspected for many years that, in all probability, his middle name had never been a part of his legal name. Nevertheless, he had been content to use this name until just prior to entering analysis.

The key to the whole situation is given by the fact that the patient, who was very fond of relating how he had acquired the name in question, invariably terminated the story with the ironical remark: 'And, *unfortunately*, my middle name saved my life.' The patient had suffered from active suicidal impulses before undergoing treatment. The analysis itself was a most difficult one, by reason of intense resistances against recovery, founded on an unconscious sense of guilt, which had formerly expressed themselves in self-destructive tendencies. By dropping, as he entered the treatment, that name which, as he was told in childhood, had once saved his life, the patient committed a symptomatic act motivated by these resistances, which betrayed his determination not to be 'saved' by the analysis.

ABSTRACTS

GENERAL

E. Bleuler. Über unbewußtes psychisches Geschehen. (Unconscious Mental Processes.) *Zeitschr. f. d. ges. Neurol. u. Psych.*, 1921, Bd. 64, S. 122.

Against Bumke (*Zeitschr. f. d. ges. Neurol. u. Psych.*, 1920, Bd. 56, S. 142), Bleuler defends the existence of the unconscious, and in so doing asserts that the whole matter is chiefly a question of elucidating concepts and points of view, if we are to cease to talk beside the mark. Controversy is for the most part concerned not with the unconscious at all, but with different views in regard to the connection between 'brain and mind', and the delimitation of mental processes. Bleuler, therefore, defines more precisely his concept of mental processes, which includes both the conscious and unconscious. In this connection certain of Bumke's objections are mentioned and their irrelevance is pointed out.

Among other things Bleuler points out that a continual psychic series exists and that 'in daily life we are every moment instinctively or consciously seeking out and completing the connecting-links which are not directly perceived, exactly as in the physical world, and when we have found them we call them unconscious psychic functions'.

Much which is called unconscious is according to Bumke only 'forgotten'. But if the 'forgotten' is still active then it can only be an unconscious psychism. For psychopathology it is of very little importance whether that which we call unconscious may not at the same time also be a little conscious.

It is only important that we should recognise the mechanisms which are based on these unconscious or dimly-conscious phenomena. E. Blum.

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Henry Yellowless. A Note on our Present Conception of Psychological Repression. *Lancet*, November 6th, 1920, pp. 937—940.

In this article the author enters a plea for fair criticism of psycho-analysis, that is to say, criticism based upon a thorough knowledge of the subject. After giving a few examples of the common misstatements of the critics, he proceeds to give a brief exposition of Freud's theory of repression.

He draws a clear distinction between psycho-analysis and the 'confessional' with which it is so often confounded by those ignorant of the subject, and points

out that truly repressed material can only be brought into consciousness by some psychotherapeutic measure (psycho-analysis).

Having given a personal example of forgetting, typical of most cases, he points out that the most important reason for the forgetting of unpleasant memories is not merely to shut these ideas out of consciousness, but to prevent certain ideas from ever reaching consciousness at all. This, he states, is the essence of repression, its most important function, and leads to the dissociation of repressed ideas which now form the content of the unconscious mental system. He briefly points out how intrapsychic conflict results from repression, and how the tendency of repressed material is to seek gratification in imaginary form which is denied it in actuality. In this way day-dreams and neurotic symptoms are created.

Warburton Brown.

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Carl Müller-Braunschweig. Über die Schwierigkeiten in der Aneignung der Freudschen Psychoanalyse. *Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift*, 1920, Vol. XXXV, S. 971.

The paper investigates for the medical profession the reasons why psycho-analysis, in spite of a development of more than a quarter of a century, has found, especially in medical circles, but a limited expansion, and why there are comparatively few who are thoroughly familiar with its theory and practice. These reasons lie partly in the difficulty of the conversion of the preponderatingly physical line of thought to a point of view entirely new to them, which is demanded, together with the introspection of psychic processes. The second difficulty lies in the practice of psycho-analytic 'experiment', which alone can bring complete empiric conviction concerning the psycho-analytic position; its entire fruitfulness only unfolds for the first time after years of practice.

The third difficulty is the most comprehensive; one can make use of the psycho-analytic experiment exhaustively upon others only if one has first submitted one's own person to the experiment with an experienced analyst. The complexes present not only in neurotics, but in all cultured persons, and the more or less unabated tension that survives in them—the reaction of which is instinctively dreaded—bring with them that this central primary condition for the fundamental grasp of psycho-analysis is underestimated.

Author's Abstract.

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J. Ernest Nicoll. Psycho-Analytical Schools Old and New. *Lancet*, Vol. II, 1922, pp. 349—354.

These two articles give a quite fair, and in the main, correct but brief survey of the views held by Freud and the various writers who have diverged from his point of view.

Nicoll writes in conclusion that there is not merely one doctrine but many schools of psycho-analysis and many points of view. It cannot be emphasized

too often, however, that the term 'psycho-analysis' was coined by Freud to apply to a special technique which he devised for reaching the unconscious. Therefore there is only one school of psycho-analysis, namely, that which follows his method.

Warburton Brown.

*

Knight Dunlap. The Unconscious in Spirit Communication and Symbolism. *New York Medical Journal*, January 4, 1922, pp. 20—24.

Prof. Dunlap sets out to 'make plain the psychologists' fundamental objection to the concept of unconscious mind and unconscious mental processes' with direct reference to Freudian analysis. The first lance is broken in so wise: granting that certain mediums really do speak more fluently and that they can give more form to hitherto vague ideas under the alleged control of spirits, he then considers the factors in extemporaneous composition. Thought is here simultaneous and identical with speech: they are one process. Having contrasted written composition, the causes of unsatisfactory spoken composition are discussed. But where does this composition arise? Prof. Dunlap supplies, presumably on somebody's behalf, one answer—'the work is done by the unconscious mind'. But no, that would be as if to say 'God did it'. Better approach the matter from the point of view of habit. This he then does for *memorised or previously thought out speech*¹—and so to cures for bad speech habits. Hey, presto! 'So much for the foundation of the medium's belief in inspiration and its interpretation on ordinary psychological grounds rather than in terms of unconscious mind.'

Scarcely taking breath, Prof. Dunlap is off full tilt at the 'Freudian notion of unconscious symbolism'. The play of unconscious activity as against habit formation is to be tested, in the case of the male and female triangle, by a statistical consideration of answers to a questionnaire formulated during the exhibition of these signs (amongst others, which of these signs would you use as a trademark 'for a line of *heavy machinery*'?).

It is scarcely necessary to describe this attack as a flight, the more so that the author does not await the results of his own investigation, but proceeds in the *same* paper to lay down why the conception of the unconscious is superfluous. To make assurance doubly sure he postulates the synonymy of 'conscious' and 'mental'. Why then experiment?

Ed. Glover.

CLINICAL

Alfred Carver. Anxiety Neurosis. *Lancet*, January 22, 1921, pp. 167—168.

After a short discussion as to the meaning of the term 'anxiety' Carver devotes his attention to the meaning of anxiety in 'anxiety-hysteria', which for no very good reason he prefers to call 'anxiety psychoneurosis'.

¹ Reviewer's italics.

Morbid anxiety, he says, is the primary mental disorder upon which the other psychoneuroses are built as superstructures, most of the superimposed symptoms being produced as the result of an effort to defend the 'ego' from the baneful effects of morbid anxiety. Anxiety is therefore the primary mental disturbance, and may be expected to be met with uncomplicated in early cases, and as a corollary of this the removal of superimposed protective symptoms would be expected to set free anxiety again. The symptoms of morbid anxiety are the physical concomitants of the emotion of fear.

The development of symptoms is due to what Freud terms the return of the repressed material, which can only take place when certain conditions are fulfilled. The ideational element of a repressed idea becomes detached from its affect, the affect becomes displaced on to a substitutive idea which is tolerable to consciousness, the intolerable idea to which the affect was originally attached remaining repressed. In this way the irrational phobias are produced, the anxiety mechanism being set going by the substituted idea. No amount of reassurance will free the patient from his phobia, because he really is not aware of what he is afraid of. Psycho-analysis is necessary in order to break down the resistances to the repressed idea coming into consciousness. When this is done the connection between his fear and the repressed idea is made by the patient, and the phobia disappears.

Carver asks the question, Can the repressions of later life come about *de novo* in an individual whose previous development has proceeded harmoniously? He points out that Freud is emphatic on this point, namely, that these later repressions are only possible as derivatives or connections of the primordial repressions of infancy. It is only upon these repressions that later repressions are built. He quotes a case in illustration and concludes by saying that in ultimate analysis what the subject of morbid anxiety really fears is his own primitives desires.

Warburton Brown.

*

L. Pierce Clark. A Study of the Unconscious Motivations in Suicides. *New York Medical Journal*, September 6, 1922, pp. 254—263.

The larger part of this paper consists of a historical introduction to the subject in which the contributions of Sadger and Stekel amongst others are freely quoted. Freud's work on 'Trauer und Melancholie' is briefly abstracted, but here the writer's study seems to have been rather inadequate, as witness a question among his conclusions—'Who can accurately describe the mental healing process in a fairly normal individual who has lost a much loved relative?' Four 'case histories' are given (two of dementia praecox and two of manic-depressive insanity) and are subjected to a kind of rough analysis.

Clark concludes that, in a psychiatric setting, one almost invariably finds an onanistic, an incest or an inversion motive at the bottom of the suicidal impulse. On the factors determining the act of suicide itself he is even less precise,

but these finally reduce themselves to three, viz: a disturbance of the normal balance of desire to live, a regression from adaptation to reality with increase of intrapsychic tension resolving itself into 'what is properly called a sin either of commission or omission', and third 'if the infantile unconscious demand is sufficiently strong and the mental regression goes deep enough we obtain the fundamental solution in self-destruction', decided by the dynamic fixation of infantile attachment.

The one promising speculation, viz: whether the suicidal act is an attempt to ease greatly increased psychic tension by physical aggression on the self is unfortunately neither stated wholly in analytical terms, nor followed beyond the parallel of mental improvement amongst some of the insane following physical injury. A closer acquaintance with the work of Freud and Ferenczi would probably have guided the author to a deeper and more fruitful examination of the sadistic impulses, and the distribution of the narcissistic libido. At the same time it is disquietening to find in a paper dealing with one of the most dangerous forms of ego-disorder sentences like the following: 'For them the day of simple confession is past and something more efficacious is needed': 'a sincere friendly hand not otherwise skilled is the great need in many instances': 'when may we hope that the clergy...' etc.

Ed. Glover.

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Jane Suttie. Mental Stresses of Adjustment in Women. *British Medical Journal*, Vol. II, 1922, pp. 549—551.

In a well-written paper Dr. Suttie lays stress upon certain difficulties which render adjustment to reality in a woman's life more difficult than in a man's, and which account for the greater incidence of mental disturbances in women as shown by statistics. Economic success, she says, can only be achieved at the expense of celibacy in the girl. She is burdened with a sex inferiority feeling which is implanted in her in the home. Her only hope of economic success lies in modelling herself on the male, and this results in intrapsychic conflict.

Women are suffering from a growing deviation of interest from their biological objectives forced upon them by modern life, and, as their sexual needs are more of the warp and woof of life than man's, sublimation is rendered more difficult.

Warburton Brown.

*

S. Herbert. A Case of Pseudo-Epilepsia Hysterica Cured by Psychoanalysis. *Psychoanalytic Review*, 1923, vol. X, p. 70.

This writer reverses the common practice of refusing to give to a discoverer full credit for what he has accomplished. We find him crediting to Freud the discovery that 'the neuroses have a psychic source' and to psycho-analysis the cure of a patient from epileptoid fits, in eighteen sittings. Needless to say, a per-

usal of the article makes plain that the latter statement is as fully founded upon ignorance as is the former. The writer evidently has little notion of what psycho-analysis really is.

H. W. F.

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Theodor Friedrichs. *Zur Psychologie der Hypnose und der Suggestion*. With a preface by Artur Kronfeld. *Kleine Schriften zur Seelenforschung*, H. 1, Stuttgart 1922, G. Püttmann.

This is a short article, full of material, which purposes to give 'a uniform psychological conception of the phenomena of hypnotism and suggestion, and their common explanation, based on the same dynamics of affects and impulses which we consider fundamental in the theory of the neuroses, the sphere of schizophrenia, and even in characterology proper'. After thirteen years, Ferenczi's fundamental work 'Introjektion und Übertragung' has come at last to be fully appreciated as the solution of the problems of hypnotism and suggestion by derivation from the child's attitude to its parents. Ferenczi's work is very fully quoted, and Freud's *Group Psychology and Analysis of the Ego* is fully taken into account. The author is in error when he states that Freud considers the affects which bind children to their parents as purely sexual ones.

The relationship of the author's ideas to those of Schilder, 'Über das Wesen der Hypnose' (J. Springer, 1922), is a particularly close one. The editor therefore mentions that Friedrichs had completed his manuscript sometime before Schilder's work appeared.

Friedrichs doubts whether in hypnosis homosexual components should always be considered active between persons of the same sex—which is 'only an assumption to fit the theory', he says—and this indicates the limits of his assent to psycho-analytic conceptions, and also the limits of his understanding of the wider meaning of unconscious homosexuality. The psycho-analytic solutions of the problems of hypnotism and suggestion are, however, on the way to be more generally acknowledged.

Hitschmann.

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S. Herbert. Post-War Neuroses. *Lancet*, vol. I, 1921, p. 1238.

Dr. Herbert quotes three cases to emphasize the importance of the sexual factor in the psychoneuroses.

Warburton Brown.

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F. L. Golla. On the Objective Study of the Neurosis. *Lancet*, vol. II, 1921. pp. 115, 215, 265, 373.

In these lectures Dr. Golla endeavours to explain the neurosis on an organic basis. An endeavour which others have also made, and in which the author of these lectures fails, just as signally as his predecessors.

In Lecture IV he deals with the subject of psycho-analysis from the point of view of 'association of ideas'. He is, however, not conversant with the technique of psycho-analysis, for he states there must always be the possibility that the subject derives his associations from the investigator from the inflexion of his voice and the subtle changes of facial expression (!).

Warburton Brown.

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J. A. Hadfield. The Making of a Neurotic. *British Medical Journal*, vol. II, 1922, pp. 546—549.

In this paper Dr. Hadfield has set himself the task of showing how a psychoneurosis is brought about. From the psycho-analytical point of view, however, the paper is of no value, for it is not founded upon a correct knowledge of the subject. For instance, in regard to 'conflict' he states there are two kinds; one between the ego and complexes, and another between two repressed complexes in the unconscious.

Again every psychoneurosis, he says, is produced by two complexes between which a conflict takes place in the unconscious. This is inconceivable, conflict can only take place between what is repressed and the factors which bring about repression.

There are many other statements of this kind which might be dealt with if it were profitable to do so.

Warburton Brown.

CHILDHOOD

Adolph Stern. Prophylaxis in the Psychoneuroses. *Psychoanalytic Review*, 1923, vol. X, p. 44.

A brief but excellent statement of the current analytic views as to the points in individual development where prophylaxis can accomplish something, with suggestions toward correcting commonly made mistakes.

H. W. F.

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Jakob Kläsi. Beitrag zur Frage der kindlichen Sexualität. *Zeitschr. f. d. ges. Neurol. u. Psych.* Bd. 74, H. 1/3, S. 362—378, 1922.

The author describes the love idyll of two boys and a girl, who are from three and a half to five years of age, in the form of a novel. He wishes to bring before psychiatrists what they always refuse to believe, namely, 'that the first infantile expressions of sexual sensations in children are generally as old as, say, the first attempts to walk, if not older'. The work fulfils what it promised. It shows that the sexual instinct manifests itself in infancy, and can be expressed in the mental sphere in 'bashfulness, caring for others, willingness to make sacrifices, and chivalry', just as in adults.

The author is quite content, probably with intention, with simply giving descriptions. He keeps away from psycho-analytic explanations. Stekel, however, is quoted briefly. But he makes no mention of the services of analysis and of its founder in the investigation of infantile sexuality; psycho-analytic findings are not taken into consideration.

One misleading remark of the author's must be refuted. After giving an account of a love episode of a boy with a little gipsy girl, he says (p. 375): 'Of course I do not wish to assert that this occurrence had acted as a trauma in the Freudian sense, otherwise what deplorable cripples we should be, since nearly all of us have had similar experiences in our youth.' The author should know that psycho-analysts have never stated that an episode of this nature can itself act as a trauma to produce a neurosis; other factors have to co-operate as, for example, fixation and repression. It is quite clear from the author's account that the boy had a strong mother-fixation which dominated him also later in life.

E. Blum.

*

J. Piaget et P. Roselló. Note sur les Types de Description d'Images chez l'Enfant. *Archives de Psychologie*, 1922, vol. XVIII, p. 208.

In this paper a comparison is made between the results of an individual 'clinical' examination of the methods of describing a picture and the data obtained from a (previously conducted) mass experiment of the same nature. The subjects were 43 children of both sexes between 8 and 12 years of age. As a result of the clinical examination four types are distinguished: —

1. The subjective type, in which a vivid imagination predominates over, and often distorts, perception.
2. The objective type, characterised by exact and detailed observation with very little imagination or interpretation.
3. The intelligent type, which combines in a sense both of the positive attributes of the two previous types; accurate observation being accompanied by intelligently controlled imagination and interpretation and by an appreciation of the picture as a whole.
4. The superficial type, characterised by the absence of both these positive attributes; the subjects in this class being inferior as regards both observation and imagination.

The individuals falling into these classes remained true to type even when encouraged by special instructions to give descriptions characteristic of another type.

The grouping of individuals into these types as a result of the clinical examination corresponded fairly closely with the results of the mass experiments. But this correspondence was not quite sufficiently great to permit of confident diagnosis in any individual case by means of the mass experiment (correspondence in 33 out of 39 cases). But if types 1 and 4 and types 2 and 3 are amalgamated, such a diagnosis becomes possible (correspondence in 37 out of 39 cases). The

mass test when repeated on three separate occasions with different pictures gave very fairly concordant results.

The relation of the above mentioned types to those of Binet and Lelesz is also considered. J. C. F.

APPLIED

Carl Müller-Braunschweig. Psychoanalyse und Sexualreform. (Lecture given before the International Congress of Sexual Reform. 1921.)

1. *Homosexuality*. Homosexuality, including unconscious, latent homosexuality, is normally a transitory phase in the development of the libido from auto-erotism, through narcissism, to the final stage of the libido organisation of the genital and heterosexual object love. Permanent homosexuality, therefore, appears as a partial (sexual) inhibition of development. Among the determining factors being a strong fixation in early childhood to the mother, with a consequent alienation from her arising therefrom, we find also a fixation to the narcissistic phase, the influence of the parent of the same sex, and all the mechanisms of the aetiology of neurosis. Over and above the fixation, we have repression and renunciation, as well as displacement and regression all playing their part. The prevalence of masculine and feminine, active and passive tendencies is not identical with hetero- and homosexual adjustments. The possibility of being able to influence homosexuality by means of psycho-analysis has been proved in a number of cases.

Constituents of sexual reform. Moral inferiority may, but need not be connected with homosexuality. Infantile and archaic traces are often more than compensated by means of cultural values. Whether biological variations (Hirschfeld) or inhibitions of development, the compulsion in both cases is so keenly felt that a penal law can produce no balance to it.

2. *Connections within the Family*.

a) Libido in relation to the members of the family on the part of the child is present from the earliest days; later, however, it will be repressed and often remains so fixated to the unconscious phantasy pictures of the familiar objects that the normal transference of libido demanded from the adult upon an object outside the family miscarries.

b) Through the repression of the early childish libido directed upon members of the family, it often becomes so sharply divided into a purely sexual manifestation (genital) on the one hand, and a tender, apparently asexual one, (extra-genital), that these two streams cannot bring about the condition of once again converging upon one and the same love-object, chosen from without the family, which is demanded from the adult.

Practical Precaution. Avoidance of unnecessary excitement of childish sexuality through too intense tenderness of the educator; avoidance of the exclusiveness of the family. Explanation to the educator concerning the libidinal character of inter-family relationships.

3. *The Incest Barrier.* The horror of incest is by no means due to an original instinct for the avoidance of 'in-breeding', but to the unconscious obedience still in operation in the present-day individual, to the Chief of the Primitive Horde, who claimed all the women for himself and slew all who opposed his prohibition.

Privately nothing important can be alleged against incestuous union. (Incestuous feelings are commonly present and compatible with highest cultural significance; actual in-breeding is only injurious to the quality of descendants after generations.) *Publicly*, it is to be considered that the State is to a large extent a product of incestuous renunciation; therefore it is difficult to deride whether it can entirely renounce the determination to punish by law.

4. *Marriage, Monogamy, Polygamy.* The monogamous tendency repeats the exclusiveness and permanent quality of the relationship between mother and child in a more or less successful transference upon an object outside the family. The polygamous tendency is, firstly, the expression of transference, which for reasons of the libido not being sufficiently released from the family cannot bind itself permanently to one and the same object, but must always seek some new object; secondly, the expression of the displacement of repressed homosexual and perverse emotions. The polygamous tendency (like its source) is always present. The strict monogamous demand is therefore an overstrain. More suitable were a union of monogamous and mutual love relationship. Compulsory marriage to be abolished.

Conclusion. The structure of Society is to be compared to that of an obsessional neurosis, which insures the individual against emotions by unconscious prohibitions of all kinds. It is to be hoped that we are perhaps so far resigned to the insurances to be able at least to modify them without losing our balance, and may now proceed from a condition of over-morality to a greater tolerance towards the instinctual life.

Author's Abstract.

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William McDougall. A new theory of laughter. *Psyche*, 1922, vol. II, p. 292.

The author discusses the inadequacies of all the theories and illustrates his remarks from the theories of Spencer and Bergson. Spencer stated that laughter affords an outlet for surplus nervous energy, escaping by the motor nerves in most frequent use, those supplying the muscles of speech and respiration. This theory is inadequate, because laughter occurs independently of this escape of energy. Bergson states that the essential function of laughter is disciplinary. McDougall points out that this theory no more covers the essential facts of laughter than Herbert Spencer's. They both fail to answer the question: For what end did the human species acquire this capacity for laughter? Laughter is a highly complex co-ordinated series of movements, maintained by an impulse so strong and definite that it often defies the control of the will. The author proceeds to consider the conditions which excite laughter and the condition of laughter itself. Laughter interrupts the train of mental activity; it diverts or

rather relaxes the attention, and so prevents the further play of the mind upon the ludicrous object. So powerful is laughter to interrupt conative process, that its more intense degrees arrest well-practised and habitual bodily actions; and the hearty laugh collapses, temporarily incapacitated for all mental or bodily activity. Secondly, the bodily movements of laughter hasten the circulation and respiration, and raise the blood pressure; and so bring about a condition of *euphoria* which gives a pleasurable tone to consciousness.

McDougall does not think that laughter always expresses pleasure: he thinks that laughter has been wrongly regarded as the normal expression of pleasure or the more intense degree of the feeling which is expressed by the smile. This he states is unquestionably the normal expression of pleasure. Although admitting that we are often pleased when we laugh he contends that the things we laugh at are essentially displeasing and that they would, in point of fact, displease us if we did not respond with laughter, inasmuch as they consist in the minor defects, mishaps and misfortunes of our fellows. Laughter is primarily and fundamentally the antidote of sympathetic pain. The capacity of laughter has been acquired by the individual as a protective reaction against all the minor pains of his fellows.

In summing up, McDougall states that laughter is an instinctive reaction of aberrant type. The objects which primarily excite this instinct are such actions, situations and aspects of human beings as would excite in us some sympathetic pain or distress, if we did not laugh. The biological function of laughter is defence of the organism against the many minor pains to which man is exposed by reason of the high sensitivity of his primitive sympathetic tendencies. This defence is achieved in two ways; first, the arrest of the train of thought; secondly, the bodily stimulation resulting from laughter.

Robert M. Riggall.

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W. A. Potts. The Psychological Treatment of Criminals in Different Countries. *Lancet*, vol. II, 1922, pp. 1365—1367.

In this paper Potts draws a comparison between the different methods of dealing with criminals in various countries. In it he enters a plea for psychological investigation of the criminal and treatment in appropriate cases.

The psychopathological group (he uses this term in contradistinction to the mentally defective and insane) is the class amenable to treatment. He quotes one or two cases of delinquents to show how their tendencies were brought about by maladjustment in the family life at home.

Warburton Brown.

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Henri Flournoy. Çiva Androgyne. *Archives de Psychologie*, 1922, vol. XVIII, p. 235.

An interesting psycho-analytic study of the attributes of the Hindoo god Çiva, with special reference to bisexual characteristics.

J. C. F.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Unconscious. By I. Levine, M. A., Lecturer in Philosophy at the University College of the South-West, Exeter. (Leonard Parsons, London, 1923, pp. 215. Price 7/6.)

Marconi once said that had he been cognisant of the theories of physics current in his experimental years he would not have had the audacity to continue his experiments and there would have been no Marconi wireless. It seems not unlikely that had Freud been learned in the schools of philosophy and psychology, had he, for instance, the opportunity to read the imposing symposium published in the October number of *Mind* for 1922 (*Is the Conception of the Unconscious of Value in Psychology?*), to which Mr. Levine respectfully refers in his book, there would be no psycho-analysis. It must be borne in mind that the theoretical side of that system has had to be hammered out almost piecemeal in response to the practical needs of the physician (*solvitur sedendo* one might almost venture to say); that the work of the clinical laboratory, which is practically what a psycho-analytic consulting room amounts to, has itself infused certain working hypotheses and certain theories. In the working out of these theories there has been little, until quite recently, from non-medical specialists, so that Freud and his followers have had to do much rough pioneer work when following up clues in ethnology, philology, literature-psychology. Now here comes Mr. Levine, lecturer on Philosophy at an English University College, championing Freud's theory with a book whose very title is a challenge to the schools. This of itself would command the respectful thanks of the readers of this Journal; when we find that Mr. Levine's essay is informed by a sympathetic understanding and sure knowledge of his subject, written with vigour and lucidity, we have little to do but invite our readers to participate in our pleasure by reading the work for themselves.

The essay begins with a short historical account of the unconscious before Freud; the theories of Leibniz, Schopenhauer, Maine de Biran, Hartmann, Fechner, Nietzsche, Butler, are briefly reviewed. Spinoza might have been added; e. g. the third part of *The Ethic*, the introduction treating of adequate and inadequate ideas. Such statements as that it is not in the free power of the mind either to recollect a thing or to forget it point to Spinoza's conception of unconscious mental processes; there are many passages in the section on the Nature of Affects which would support this claim; the reviewer is bookless at the moment

but he believes that Spinoza in his translation somewhere uses the term unconscious.

Mr. Levine has, however, little difficulty in showing that before Freud the unconscious was but a speculation in philosophy; with Freud we pass to what may be claimed to be judged as scientific inductions. The criticisms levelled by physiologists and psychologists (in their criticisms the rôles are often reversed) are squarely met in the section on The Validity of the Unconscious. Mr. Levine justifies Freud's refusal to regard the mental and the conscious as synonymous. Mr. Levine's argument in support of the validity of the unconscious is twofold: A. The positive argument. (1) It makes intelligible psychic activities which consciousness does not reveal. (2) A pragmatic argument. It works, for the '*course of conscious processes is affected by treatment*' based upon the hypothesis of an unconscious. B. The negative side. (1) There is no proof that everything mental must be conscious. (2) Physical processes do not account for the phenomena brought to light by psycho-analysis.

Finally the hypothesis of the unconscious is 'in line with our customary mode of thinking and with all the other mental hypotheses framed to interpret mental life'. If the critics still refuse to listen our last word will be, as Poincaré said of the earth's motion round the sun—*c'est plus commode*.

Mr. Levine is clear on points where so many critics and even advocates of psycho-analysis go astray. For instance, he notes that, in Freud's view, the conflict which may result in a neurosis is 'between sexual impulses and Ego-impulses, the latter reflecting the development of the Ego under the influence of social, moral, and intellectual conditions' (p. 67). On p. 177 in a short section on Psycho-analysis and Responsibility Mr. Levine correctly maintains 'there is not the slightest foundation for the assumption that psycho-analysis, if true, requires the abolition of legal responsibility'.

The reviewer would not agree, however, that psycho-analysis 'does not touch the fundamental principle of moral responsibility' which, for Mr. Levine, lies 'outside the sphere of psychology altogether'. The sections on the Setting of the Unconscious and the Significance of the Unconscious are a valuable interpretation of the psycho-analytic relationship to ethics, education, aesthetics and philosophy.

Occasionally Mr. Levine—it is a pardonable and amiable error—claims more for the practical value of psycho-analysis than even a biased reviewer can allow. He infers 'that subsequent psycho-analytic therapy would probably be rendered unnecessary if the original, earliest education of the child ensured its normal development, in respect to the Libido' (p. 151). But psycho-analysis cannot answer as yet the question, what is the child's normal development? Again, for Mr. Levine, 'it seems at least certain that it is dangerous to allow the child to regard sexual matters as wholly a region of mystery and secrecy. It should be at least feasible to avoid *false* or *distorted* information'. Though psycho-analysts are so frequently brought in contact with those who may have suffered from the effects

of this secrecy, it is by no means certain that the abolition of the air of mystery and secrecy would be an advantage. It is probably not feasible to tell a child the exact facts on sexual matters. Though it is quite true, as Mr. Levine remarks, that the giving of such false information does undermine the trust of the child in his parents altogether, and even though it is also true that this is fraught with disastrous results, it may be some measure of distrust of the parents is a requisite for childish development.

There is no one quite so old-fashioned and so conservative in the matter of social reform as the thorough-paced psycho-analyst. He is no believer in many much advocated educational novelties such as sex enlightenment or co-education. These are, of course, but matters of opinion where the reviewer happens to differ from Mr. Levine.

Just a tiny error for correction in the next edition; dementia praecox had better be called a psychosis (p. 128).

It is only fair to the author to state that Prof. Freud has expressed his complete agreement with this interpretation of his works. We have endeavoured to show cause.

M. D. Eder.

*

Conflict and Dream. By W. H. R. Rivers. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd. London, 1923. Pp. 195. Price 12/6.)

Were it not for the eminence of the author, this book would possess little importance. Even as it is, its value is greatly diminished by the fact that it constitutes a study in a field where the writer had had little experience and no training. It is easy for anyone with a personal knowledge of Dr. Rivers to point to numerous places in the analyses here recorded where further insight was blocked by his own characteristic inhibitions. None of the dream interpretations given reach further than the pre-conscious layer of the mind, and throughout the whole book the unconscious proper is never dealt with.

The book has been hailed as an annihilating criticism of Freud's theory of dreams, but this is in no sense true. In spite of the considerations just adduced, the conclusions reached deviate in no important respect from those of Freud so far as they go. In other words, the author has been able to confirm Freud's theory up to a certain point, though not beyond this where it concerns the deeper layers of the mind. Thus, he agrees with Freud that dreams are of great psychical significance; that the distinction between the manifest and latent content is of cardinal importance; that the latent content indicates a remarkable distortion (which he prefers to term transformation) before it is converted into the manifest content; that there are regular laws by which this transformation occurs; that the latent content is a repressed one—in short, all the more essential parts of Freud's theory. He dislikes Freud's term 'wish-fulfilment' and prefers to regard the dream as the expression of an attempt to solve some conflict; the difference here is in most cases verbal only.

His chief difference with Freud is that he does not attach so much importance as the latter to the infantile material in the latent content; this is comprehensible as in most cases he was unable to reach it. His own formulation of dreams is that they represent the attempted solution of a current conflict expressed in the more primitive language of infantile modes of functioning. The latter trait he accounts for by supposing that the higher regions of the mind are in a state of suspended activity during sleep, though he is careful to point out that there is considerable discrimination in this; thus the mental processes concerned with the current conflicts are still active as well as the readiness to correspond to selected stimuli of psychical significance. The dreams he records, particularly from himself, were apparently very free from sexual conflicts. This he ascribes partly to his intense absorption in his work during the time he was observing his dreams. He adds: 'So far as my positive evidence goes, sexual conflicts find expression in my own dreams with relatively little transformation and disguise, and it is only rarely that I have been able to explain a dream devoid of manifest sexual aspects as a conflict of a sexual kind. It is quite possible, of course, that when such conflicts are in action, there is an unusually great resistance, and that this resistance accounts for my not infrequent complete failure to analyse a dream. But even if this be the case, it must be remembered that the conditions under which my own dreams occurred were in many ways exceptional, and that sexual conflicts, transformed so as to be unrecognisable at first sight, would almost certainly be far more frequently active in a younger person and one less absorbed in special forms of mental activity. Because my own dreams can be referred comparatively rarely to conflicts of a sexual kind, it must not be concluded that sexual conflicts are not frequent, probably even the most frequent, sources of dreams' (p. 110). No psycho-analyst would quarrel with this statement.

The two chief respects in which the author tilts against the psycho-analysis of dreams are on the matters of symbolism and opposites. What he has to say on the latter point well illustrates his unfamiliarity with unconscious material 'Again, the idea that an event of a dream may indicate either one thing or its opposite, gives an arbitrary character to the whole process of dream-interpretation, which must be most unsatisfactory to anyone accustomed to scientific method. One of Freud's rules of interpretation is that every element of the dream may be interpreted by its opposite as well as by itself, and that only the connections of the dream can enable the interpreter to decide in favour of one or the other. Such a method would reduce any other science to an absurdity, and doubts must be raised whether psychology can have methods of its own which would make it necessary to separate it from all other sciences and put it in a distinct category' (p. 6). It does not seem to occur to him here that we may be dealing with an objective feature of dream material which is not altered by our calling it absurd. Many unconscious processes seem absurd to the waking mind, and the novice is apt to ascribe this absurdity to the investigator of the processes in question. It is very surprising in the present instance that with his extensive

knowledge of anthropological data Dr. Rivers did not remember the frequency of the same feature in ancient languages, notably Egyptian, and the many processes left of it even to the present day. Thus, for example, no one can tell whether the word 'let' in English means 'to allow' or 'to prevent' unless he has the context before him.

His trouble about symbolism is still simpler. In the first place he uses the term throughout in the usual lay sense of 'representative'. Thus, in connection with a dream of a medical patient, who wore the Aesculapian badge on his uniform, he concludes that 'a hideous blood-red snake reared up to strike' was a symbol of Medicine, where evidently the word 'emblem' would have been more appropriate. He protests vigorously (p. 177) that 'symbols to which a universal significance is attached, may at least in some cases bear a meaning of a different kind', evidently under the impression that psycho-analysts think otherwise. On the contrary, we hold that there is no image, however frequently it may bear a symbolic significance, which may not at times appear in dreams quite apart from this significance. Dr. Rivers' criticism, therefore, is quite in the air.

There is a very speculative appendix entitled *The Biological Function of the Dream*. Starting from the assumption that a pronounced feature of fear dreams is an exaggeration of affect, he suggests that this may have arisen from the necessity on the part of animals to respond quickly to danger. This process he regards as especially likely in the case of herd animals. 'If the member of the herd which reacts most speedily to the sensory indications of danger does not merely react, but begins before waking to utter cries or growls, or to give other indications of danger, its behaviour will awaken the whole herd and serve to put it on its guard more speedily than if it had to wait till its most sensitive member had been itself awakened before it could give the warning signal' (p. 183). It will be seen that he is led to this highly imaginative conclusion from lack of criticism of his original premise. Adequate analysis of the fear dreams in question would have shewn that the affect is only *apparently* exaggerated, but actually is quite proportionate to the unconscious ideas to which they relate.

The book is written in the interesting and lucid style which Dr. Rivers had at his command, and is pleasingly free from the acerbities which had marred some of his other writings of late. The editor of the book, Dr. Elliot Smith, is evidently very dissatisfied with the tolerance shewn by the author towards new ideas, and has added a preface, a number of footnotes, and an appendix to indicate what, in his opinion, Dr. Rivers ought to have thought on various points, and what, according to Dr. Elliot Smith, he would have thought had he lived longer.

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E. J.

Getting What We Want. How to Apply Psycho-analysis to your Own Problems. By David Orr Edson, M. D. (Harper & Brothers, New York and London, 1921. Pp. 287.)

The American market has more recently been glutted with 'popular' expositions of psycho-analysis by authors whose knowledge of the subject is in

most instances exceedingly limited and frequently entirely incorrect. This volume is a book of this type. Among other curiosities, it contains an 'anthropologic percentage sheet', whereby one measures one's 'color and shape indices' and so decides just what percentage one is a blond or brunet. The result is supposed to furnish an index to the mental and physical make-up of the individual and to be a vocational guide. It is all delightfully simple—just register the colour percentage of your eyes, measure the shape percentage of forehead and nose, fill out the chart, and start yourself on the road to success. It is unfortunate indeed for psycho-analysis that the name of the science can be linked to such nonsense.

M. A. Meyer.

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The Homosexual Neurosis. By Dr. William Stekel (Vienna). Authorised translation by James S. Van Tassar, M. D. (Richard G. Badger, Boston, 1922, pp. 322. Price 6 dol.)

Readers whose expectations of a systematic and scientific study have been aroused by the table of contents will be not a little disappointed by the rather incoherent account of the mechanisms of homosexuality which follows. Stekel's undoubted gifts of observation and speculation are continually hampered not only by an embarrassment of non-analytic material but by an easy knack of popular exposition. Throughout this volume are numerous observations showing intuitive appreciation of and insight into various aspects of homosexuality, but these are unfortunately overgrown by a mass of illustrative material, the elaboration of which can scarcely recommend itself in a majority of instances to those who believe in analytical objectivity.

Written in a style which lends itself to generalisation, the book leaves one with the uneasy feeling not only that scientific detachment has been sacrificed to a desire for authoritarian completeness but that in his hurry the author has not digested his own material. His main contention that the homosexual neurosis is a flight back to one's own sex induced by a sadistic disposition, or feeling attitude, towards the opposite sex (pp. 286 and 312) is a typical generalisation in which two factors are melted down and canonised with only the roughest consideration of their individual psychogenesis and interrelations.

His chapters on the rôle of family fixations might have been condensed with advantage but the criticisms directed against Sadger (pp. 43—49) suggest that Stekel has been content with uncovering and emphasising facets of the 'complete' Oedipus complex. A later remark that he has records of cases in which the mother plays no rôle whatever is not substantiated by case-material and would seem to indicate either superficial observation or a neglect of the dynamics of object-choice. Very probably both, since much of the material submitted elsewhere bears the stamp of inadequate observation, e. g. by correspondence or brief interview.

Perhaps the best section of the book is that on jealousy, although this is somewhat marred by a preliminary definition of jealousy as the 'projection of one's own insufficiencies to the surroundings' (p. 109). It is true that in the next

chapter he adds to this conception by taking jealousy to be 'a primitive feeling of hatred, characteristic of man in his primordial state' (p. 163), also that he gives ample recognition to the play of jealousy in homosexuality, but on the whole subject of modification of the aggressive impulses Stekel's ideas are not free from disorder and overlapping. He has, for instance, much to say on sadism which is in keeping with the recognised influence of this impulse on homosexual tendencies. But both here and throughout the volume there flits as a kind of 'Doppelgänger' the concept of 'criminality'. The relation of this phenomenon to the instinct groups is not defined nor its psychogenesis described. At times it is distinguished from the sexual impulses, yet 'criminal heterosexual tendencies' are described: sadism is on another occasion regarded as a 'rudiment' of early feelings, presumably criminal tendencies in the light of the next sentence (p. 70), and later (p. 138) we hear of 'criminal fancies of poisoning', of 'criminal passional deeds' (p. 151), of 'subjective criminal ideas' (p. 187). A conception so hazy scarcely lends itself to critical judgement, but it is possibly due to this vagueness in tracing instinct modification that anal factors in hate projection have not been sufficiently emphasised.

Again the influence of narcissism and its relation to object choice receives rather scant attention, whilst castration fear as such is hardly mentioned. There is indeed a reference to overvaluation of the penis and to the 'woman with penis' phantasy, but the play of castration fear is frequently overlooked (pp. 61, 216, 217).

Referring to the Schreber case (pp. 157—158) Stekel levels at Freud the usual charge that he... 'has emphasised only the sexual factors underlying all psychotic and nervous manifestations...'. On p. 311 ('How firmly I held to all the Freudian mechanisms so long as the deceptive proximity of the great master confused my own understanding' etc.), Stekel paints a picture of his own varying reactions which can only be regarded from the clinical standpoint.

The book will make an undoubted appeal to the non-analytical reader, a fact peculiarly calculated to give rise to misconception as to the nature of psycho-analytic technique. It should be clearly understood that neither in method of dream interpretation nor in certain peculiar manifestations of 'activity' during treatment, is Stekel's method the method of psycho-analysis, whilst his subjective attitude cannot make for scientific conviction however much it tends towards the confirmation of theories.

Edward Glover.

*

Euclid's Outline of Sex. By Wilbur P. Birdwood. (Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1922, pp. 68.)

A not very successful attempt to be comical at the expense of psycho-analysis. The author, stating that nothing is known of Euclid, proceeds to reconstruct his life and character from his geometrical propositions in a manner that travesties such work as Freud's analysis of Leonardo da Vinci.

M. A. Meyer.

*

Thoughts of a Psychiatrist on the War and After. By William A. White, M. D. (Paul B. Hoeber, New York, 1919, pp. 137.)

A pleasant and well written little book, in which the author discusses various psychological and social problems connected with the war. It is a book which a layman, unfamiliar with modern thought, would find interesting, valuable, and highly instructive. But it shows very little evidence of originality. The thoughts of the psychiatrist turn out to be, for the most part, thoughts he has borrowed from other people. They come from Freud, from Jones, from Trotter, from the behaviorists, from writers on sociology; almost nowhere in the book is there anything original or new. One need not, of necessity, reproach Dr. White for this. Not everybody can be original, and a good restatement of the thoughts of others is often worth while. But we feel Dr. White has gone beyond what is legitimate. Much of his borrowing was done, it seems to us, rather shamelessly, and with little inclination to give credit when it is due. Much of the discussion is in psycho-analytic terms; the point of view is largely psycho-analytic; and many of the ideas expressed are taken bodily from Freud. (Compare, for example, Chapter III with the first section of Freud's 'Reflections on War and Death'.) But Freud is not even mentioned in Dr. White's book (almost half of the references are to Dr. White's own writings). A reader having much familiarity with the literature of psycho-analysis and related fields is likely, therefore, to find Dr. White's book rather irritating, and to reflect that most of the thoughts it contains are best studied in the writings of those with whom they are original.

H. W. F.

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(1) *Dementia Praecox and Paraphrenia* (1919. 328 pages and 50 illustrations). Price 17/6 nett.

(2) *Manic-Depressive Insanity and Paranoia* (1921. 277 pages and 53 illustrations). Price 21/- nett.

By Prof. Kraepelin of Munich. Translated by R. Mary Barclay, M. A., M. B. From the eighth German Edition of the 'Text-Book of Psychiatry', vol. III and IV. Edited by George M. Robertson, M. D., F. R. C. P. (E. and S. Livingstone, 17 Teviot Place, Edinburgh.)

These two excellent translations of the specified chapters from the pre-war edition of Kraepelin's 'Psychiatrie' have been a boon to those English students of Psychiatry who are unable to read German.

They are the most complete clinical description of the psychoses extant and should be read by all medical psychologists and asylum medical officers. Although there is nothing about psycho-analysis, except here and there to contradict Freud's discoveries, this need not prevent students of psycho-analysis from endeavouring to interpret the symptoms, so fully described by Kraepelin, in the light of their own psycho-analytical knowledge.

W. H. B. Stoddart.

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An Introduction to the Psychology of Religion. By Robert H. Thouless. (Cambridge University Press, 1923, pp. 286. Price 7/6 net.)

This book seems to us an intelligent and serious contribution to a difficult subject. It differs, perhaps, from the excellent series of books on the same subject provided mainly by American writers in that its tendency is more manifest. It was clearly written with the purpose of reassuring religious people that no contribution made by psychology need shake their religious faith. A considerable number of similar books have appeared in the past few years with the same object, and it is a sign of the times that they do appear. Of such books this is certainly much the best we have yet come across.

After discussing the various definitions of religion that have been given, he proposes the following excellent one: 'Religion is a felt practical relationship with what is believed in as a superhuman being or beings.' Then follows chapters on the intellectual, moral, emotional and instinctive elements in religion, with special chapters on the unconscious, the sex-instinct, and the herd-instinct. The book finishes with interesting chapters on conversion and mysticism, and a final one on general considerations. The author naturally shews to his own satisfaction that the demonstration of these subjective elements in no way disproves the objective reality of religious beliefs. Like most authors, with rare exceptions—of which no psycho-analyst is one—he refuses to trace the psychological elements of religion to any single instinct, such as the sexual or herd instinct, but admits the cooperation of them all. He denies that any sexual component derogates from the dignity of religion, though his attitude towards this instinct is revealed by the following sentence: 'The sex-instinct is at the root of all the highest expressions of human character which can be called out by love at its best, as well as of the depravity which we commonly call *sexuality*.' And that his view of the sexual instinct is a decidedly narrow one is shewn by his argument that it cannot be indispensable to the religious emotion because the latter may be present in childhood (!) and 'in old age when the sex-life is past' (p. 132).

A short but accurate account of psycho-analysis is given in the chapter on the unconscious, and Freud's work is referred to in the following glowing terms: 'I am inclined to judge that it is very easily the most important contribution to the science of psychology that has ever been made by one man . . . It will be as impossible for a psychologist of the future to ignore the work of Freud as it would have been for a biologist in the nineteenth century to have ignored the work of Darwin' (p. 107). That there are limits, however, to his understanding of the subject is shewn by a hopeless confusion between metaphor and symbol in a section on the latter topic, and by the extraordinary statements that 'the best known contribution from this school (of psycho-analysis) has been Dr. Jung's 'Psychology of the Unconscious', and that 'one school of psychoanalysts make the inculcation of the religious motive a part of their therapeutic method'.

E. J.

Psychology and Morals. By J. A. Hadfield, M. A., M. B., Ch. B. (Methuen, London, 1923, pp. VIII + 186. Price 6/—.)

In the mid-nineteenth century the late Martin F. Tupper enjoyed an enormous vogue through his 'Proverbial Philosophy', a book that went through about 30 editions and contained, according to a biographer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 'many apt and striking expressions, which appealed to a large and uncritical audience'. A quotation from Tupper

'Passion may be hot and strong, but thou canst be its master,
Unless thy silly weakness yield the battle to the foe'

will serve to show the soundness of the philosopher's views and the resemblance to the advice now being proffered in scores of books to those 'whose souls are sick within them' (Tupper) labelled the New Psychology. Of course, Tupper, who, by the way, was the son of a doctor and a prolific author, did not profess that his guidance was psychological, nor did he use such terms as endopsychic conflict, complex, repression, sublimation etc., a terminology which, for instance, plentifully besprinkles 'Psychology and Morals' doubtless substantiating its claim to apply 'the latest developments of Psychology to the practical problems of moral conduct' (vide jacket). It would be unfair not to single out a notable difference between Martin Tupper and his spiritual heirs: Tupper wrote at enormous length and kept on repeating himself; his spiritual heirs write briefly and usually repeat one another.

To end with two quotations. From 'Psychology and Morals': 'Analysis must be fortified by synthesis, suggestion by determination, religion by moral endeavour.' From 'Proverbial Philosophy': 'Taste my simple store and rest one soothing hour.'

M. D. Eder.

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The Dominant Sex: A Study in the Sociology of Sex Differentiation. By Mathilde and Mathias Vaerting. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. (Allen & Unwin, London, 1923, pp. 240. Price 10/6.)

The thesis of this book is that the psychological differences, and many of the bodily ones, between the sexes are not fundamental, but are due to sociological causes. Like Adler, therefore, the authors take up the topsy-turvy position of basing their psychology on sociology instead of vice versa. To criticise it adequately would need a book as large as itself, for it bristles with unsupported, perverted or exaggerated statements of the most dogmatic kind all of which call for detailed criticism. Of the main thesis it need only be said that it is contradicted by any observation of young children below the age at which they are subject to social influence of the kind indicated by the authors, and by the fact that the depth of penetration into the unconscious mind can be correlated with an increasingly clear differentiation between the sex differences in question.

E. J.

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English Prisons Today: Being the Report of the Prison System Enquiry Committee. Edited by Stephen Hobhouse, M. A. and A. Fenner Brockway. (Published by Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1923, pp. XVIII + 728. Price 25/-.)

If the psycho-analytic investigations have somewhat besmirched, as it is contended, the average civilized human being it will hardly be held to righteousness for having, on the other hand, somewhat whitened the character of many an average criminal. The discovery that crimes may be the masquerades of phantasies, unfulfilled desires, offences not always subject to the criminal code, is a contribution to criminology which might have found a more extended reference in Part. II of this book. The portraits on pp. 479 and 484 and occasional hints in the text itself shew that the author of the section is acquainted with the standpoint of psycho-analysis.

The question of punishment and penal reform is of less interest to the psychologist who, furnishing the data for a better understanding of the criminal's motives, leaves his treatment to society.

To those interested in the motives of crime the special value of this work is in the evidence furnished by two hundred and ninety ex-prisoners, including a number of persons committed for criminal offences. This evidence which the psychologist will of course submit to the critical tests of any witnesses, be it the Home Secretary, the Chairman of the Prison Commission or other official, gives some material bearing upon the effects of prison life upon the mind. It is claimed, for instance, that 'those who struggle most to maintain a vigorous mental life are frequently those who in the end suffer from nervous breakdown'. Masturbation is said to be common but no valid evidence is brought forward to support the author's view (p. 587) that this increases the mental and moral deterioration 'which has already set in'. It is rather to be hoped than to be expected that the newest prison reformer will refrain from depriving the prisoner through some further punishment of perhaps the one solace left to him.

As might be anticipated, the editors have not done their work with complete scientific detachment; the sentimentality can be, however, readily separated by any reader from the matter of permanent value—the description of the working and effects of the English Prison System as seen largely from the point of view of the prisoner.

M. D. Eder.

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Diseases of the Nervous System. A Text-book of Neurology and Psychiatry by Smith Ely Jelliffe, M. D., Ph. D., and William A. White, M. D. Fourth Edition, revised, re-written and enlarged. (Lea and Fabiger, Philadelphia and New York, 1923, pp. 1088 + XLII. Price \$ 9.50.)

The first edition of this work was published in 1915 and the appearance of the fourth edition in 1923 is a guarantee of its popularity. This is well merited, for the book gives a very complete account of diseases of the nervous system, approaching their study from many points of view.

In any case of nervous disease we are told to look for hundreds of signs and symptoms, each procedure usually taking a few seconds to a few minutes, and there seems to be an element of incongruity, almost amounting to humour, when we find that this chapter concludes with five pages on psycho-analysis, a method of examination which may take years.

Nevertheless, these five pages are extraordinarily good. The principles and 'Technic' are accurately described in a way which we would not have thought possible to be expressed so briefly. Of course this description of psycho-analysis does not purport to be instruction in the method. Indeed it strikes the present reviewer rather as a description which might be useful for patients who want to know something about what they are undertaking, should they ultimately decide on a course of psycho-analytical treatment.

The neurological part is excellent, but a detailed examination of it is not required for this Journal. We therefore pass to Part III. Part III is the account of disorders of the 'Psychical or Symbolic Systems' and it is in fact a text-book on Mental Diseases. Their study is approached from the interpretative or Freudian point of view and we can unstintingly acclaim this section as the best manual on Mental Disorders extant. Having said this, we feel free to offer a few criticisms.

The authors describe the neuroses and psychoses on Freudian lines, but not to the exclusion of views expressed by other authorities. Indeed they appear to have forgotten Freud in their chapter on the Manic-Depressive psychosis and his views on the psycho-pathology of Melancholia are relegated to the account of Senile Melancholia.

In the discussion of the treatment of Dementia Praecox we are told that psycho-analysis should be used, although in the preceding sentence the authors definitely state that 'it cannot be expected that patients can be cured by psycho-analytical treatment'. Doubtless the psycho-analysis is intended to *mitigate* symptoms, but even accepting this notion psycho-analysis applicable to a case of Dementia Praecox must have an extremely modified technique.

In spite of all these criticisms, we recommend every neurologist and psychiatrist to have a copy of this work on his bookshelf.

W. H. B. Stoddart.

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The Form and Functions of the Central Nervous System. By F. Tilney, M. D., Ph. D., and H. A. Riley, A. M., M. D. (Published by Paul B. Hoeber, New York, 1923, pp. 1019. Price \$ 12.00.)

This magnificent work, a tribute to the best American scholarship, should long remain a standard work on the subject. Being entirely devoted to anatomy and physiology, it does not call for any extended notice in a psychological journal, but we can cordially recommend it to those of our readers who wish to renew and deepen their knowledge of the structure and functions of the nervous system.

The book is excellently produced and beautifully illustrated, but we cannot refrain from remarking that its weight surpasses any we have handled for some years.

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E. J.

A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of our Era. By Lynn Thorndike. (Macmillan & Co., London, 1923, 2 vols., pp. 835 and 1036. Price 42/- complete.)

A massive compilation recording the main features on the subject of magic during the first thirteen centuries of our era. The author takes the term magic in a wider sense than is usually done by anthropologists, and includes under it not only the ritual and practices themselves but also the ideas and beliefs relating to these. The work is arranged in the form of a chronological account of the various sources, a system which is very cumbersome for one who wishes to look up the material on a given subject alone. The author adds relatively little in the way of comment, and there is no reference made to psycho-analysis. At the same time the work is one of those collections of material which will be of great value to psycho-analysts searching the records of the past to correlate unconscious products of phantasy with the archaic ones they are in the habit of exploring in individuals.

E. J.

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The Soul Sifters. A Novel of Psycho-Analysis. By A. J. Anderson. (Hurst & Blackett, pp. 279. Price 7/6 net.)

Sherlock Holmes never treated a criminal so marvellously as Mr. Anderson's hero, a psycho-therapeutic detective, unearthed the trauma in the mind of his patient. The permanent cure in a fortnight of a case of neurosis, aided only by a single dream, an engraving, and a conversation with the butler, is indeed an achievement worthy of record. Our author kindly reveals the secret of success. We must renounce Prof. Freud and all his works, and recognise the craving after self-esteem as the driving force of all clean-minded young Englishmen. (The rest of humanity, possibly tainted with libidinal impulses, we had better, it appears, leave to their own devices.)

Mr. Anderson shows us his hero unconquerable in argument as in action. In a brief interview he destroys the faith of his rival, an apocryphal Freudian analyst, and after a feeble struggle this reincarnation of the familiar officer of the law sees 'his work of the past three years crumbling before him'.

Mr. Anderson plainly confounds his phantasy with reality—a state of mind which cannot be only attributed to his ignorance of psycho-analytic technique.

Helen Bastable.

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

BERLIN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Quarterly report

December 5, 1922. Fr. A. Schott (guest of the Society): Analysis of a child.

December 12, 1922. Short communications:

Dr. Alexander: On the origin of the castration complex.

Löwenstein: Additional remarks on this subject.

Frau Dr. Happek: Substitutive formations for onanism (convulsive movements). (To be published shortly.)

December 19, 1922. Dr. O. Fenichel: Objections to the attempt to apply the results of psycho-analysis to metaphysics. (To be published shortly.)

January 9, 1923. Frau Dr. Balint: Psycho-Analysis of the religious hieroglyphics of the Mexicans. (To appear in *Imago*.)

Dr. H. Sachs: Perversion and neurosis. (To appear in the *Zeitschrift*.)

January 27, 1923. Short communications:

Dr. Förster (Hamburg): Analysis of an impediment in speech.

Dr. Lampl: Phantasy of a paternal uterus.

January 30, 1923. General Meeting.

Adoption of the President's statement of accounts.

On a motion by Boehm the principle was laid down that members should make a regular contribution (the amount to be optional) towards a fund for the support of the Polyclinic; a committee of six members to discuss details.

Boehm was elected Treasurer to serve with the other Officers of the Society, Abraham (President) and Eitingon (Secretary).

February 6, 1923. Cand. med. Rohr (guest of the Society): Points of agreement between the findings of psycho-analysis and the Chinese language and script.

The speaker showed that in the origin and modification of languages in which the inflectional system prevails a certain principle is at work, and that in the Chinese language and script the same principle operates in a fashion very largely, if not entirely, analogous. In Chinese however repression takes place at a different point. This repression, which took place in the past or is now well established, is the cause of the poverty of sounds in Chinese, in contradistinction to the

script which has retained the original relations almost unaltered. A more detailed explanation followed by means of illustrations taken from the most various groups of words. Research showed that in order to represent the concrete in general, i. e. the actual, the Chinese made use of an incest-symbol. It appeared that, apart from what might be called the familiar symbols, even such complicated mechanisms as displacement from below upwards, the content of the female Oedipus and castration complex and the essence of narcissism are presented as it were in graphic form. The fact that there is a very extensive agreement between Chinese grammar and the representation of logical relations in dreams was referred to.

Author's Abstract.

February 13, 1923. Short communications:

Dr. Schultz-Hencke: The psycho-analysis of blushing.

Dr. Boehm: Clinical notes on the ætiology of homosexuality.

Dr. Balint: Combination of a conversion-symptom with a perverted act.

Frau Klein: Notes from the analysis of a child.

Dr. Varendonck (guest of the Society): The ætiology of vomiting.

Dr. Alexander: An observation on a small child.

Other short clinical contributions were given by Frau Dr. Happel, Dr. Gross, Dr. Fenichel, Frau Klein.

February 20, 1923. Extraordinary General Meeting.

1. On the proposal of the Committee it was determined that a contribution from members should be raised as follows for the development of the Polyclinic as a centre of treatment and instruction. (Moved by Boehm.)

'The Berlin Psycho-Analytical Society shall maintain a fund for the development of the therapeutic and instructional work of its Polyclinic Institute.

Contributions shall be paid to this fund monthly, the amount to be fixed at four per cent of the total income derived from the practice of *analysis* (i. e. the income of one day in the month). In the case of any individual member whose working expenses are heavy, who is temporarily in receipt of a small income or who is responsible for the maintenance of several persons etc., a smaller contribution may be made for the time being.

All members of the Society as well as its guests, in so far as they practise analysis, are liable to this payment. The same principle applies to *foreign* members, their contribution to be *half* that of ordinary members. The payments shall be made at the second meeting in every month, in such a way that strict confidence is observed as to the amount contributed by individual members.

The fund shall be administered by a Committee consisting of three members to which the President of the Society shall be co-opted. The Committee shall furnish a report at the annual General Meeting, the first report to be made at the end of the summer term, 1923.

Foreign members shall send their contribution to the Treasurer; it is open to them to do so quarterly.'

2. Changes in membership:

The names of Dr. Nachmansohn (Göttingen) and Dr. Gerstein (Hamburg) were removed at their request from the Roll of Membership. Frau Melanie Klein, hitherto an Associate Member, was now elected to full membership.

Frl. Ada Schott was admitted as a new Associate Member.

3. On a motion by Simmel a committee of six members was appointed to draw up a plan of instruction for those who desire to train as analysts and to be a permanent authority to decide upon the admission of applicants for training.

4. The following alteration was made in the statutes: that admission to membership should no longer depend upon unanimous election but upon the votes of a two-thirds majority.

March 5, 1923. Short communications:

Dr. Eitingon: Report on the position of the psycho-analytic movement in France.

Dr. Gross: Psycho-analysis of the secret.

Admission of Associate Member: cand. med. Rohr.

March 13, 1923. The debate on Dr. Gross's communications was continued.

Dr. Simmel: A displacement of sexual resistances into the sphere of intellect.

Dr. Abraham: a) Castration-phantasies in two little boys.

b) The castration complex in the analysis of a bisexual.

Frau Dr. Müller: A blunder.

March 27, 1923. Dr. Abraham: Beginnings and development of object-love. (To be published.)

During the first quarter the course of lectures announced previously was held. The lectures aroused an increasing interest especially amongst the younger psychiatrists.

On March 3rd at the request of the Oriental Seminar of the University of Hamburg Dr. Abraham gave a lecture entitled: The return of primitive religious ideas in the phantasy-life of children.

List of Members

Full Members

1. Dr. Karl Abraham (President); Berlin-Grunewald, Bismarckallee 14.
2. Dr. Franz Alexander; Berlin-Friedenau, Hauptstraße 72.
3. Dr. Felix Boehm (Treasurer); Berlin W 50, Rankestraße 20.
4. Dr. Max Eitingon (Secretary); Berlin W 10, Rauchstraße 4.
5. Dr. Rudolf Foerster; Hamburg, Parkallee 42.
6. Dr. Georg Groddeck; Baden-Baden, Werderstraße 14.
7. Frau Dr. Happel; Frankfurt a. M., Bethmannstraße 44.
8. Dr. J. Harnik; Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Ludwigkirchplatz 12.
9. Frau Dr. Karen Horney; Berlin-Zehlendorf-Mitte, Sophie-Charlotten-Straße 15.

10. Frau Melanie Klein; Berlin-Dahlem, Auf dem Grat 19.
11. Dr. Heinrich Koerber; Berlin W 15, Meineckestraße 7.
12. Dr. Hans Liebermann; Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Trautenastraße 18.
13. Frau Dr. J. Müller; Berlin-Schmargendorf, Helgolandstraße 1.
14. Dr. Carl Müller; Berlin-Schmargendorf, Helgolandstraße 1.
15. Dr. Hanns Sachs; Berlin-Charlottenburg, Mommsenstraße 7.
16. Dr. Emil Simonson; Berlin-Halensee, Georg-Wilhelm Straße 2.
17. Dr. Ernst Simmel; Berlin W 15, Emser Straße 21.
18. Frä. Dr. Anna Smeliansky; Berlin W 35, Potsdamer Straße 29.
19. Frau Dr. Margarete Stegmann; Dresden-A, Sidonienstraße 18.
20. Dr. Ulrich Vollrath, Stadtarzt; Fürstenwalde a. d. Spree.
21. Dr. F. Georg Wanke; Friedrichroda i. Thür., Gartenstraße 14.
22. Dr. W. Wittenberg; München, Elisabethstraße 17.

Associate Members

23. Cand. med. Wilhelm Rohr; Berlin N, Lottumstraße 18.
24. Frä. Ada Schott; Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Fasanenstraße 43.

Honorary Member

Dr. Alexander Ferenczi; Budapest.

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THE BRITISH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

December 6, 1922. Dr. A. C. Wilson gave an abstract of Ferenczi's paper on Bridge Symbolism, and then read notes of a case he was analysing in support of Ferenczi's views

January 3, 1923. Dr. Douglas Bryan gave some remarks on Sadism and Masochism. He considered that the terms Sadism and Masochism, and sadistic and masochistic impulse, should be limited to those cases in which the giving or receiving of pain associated with sexual feelings was an essential factor. He suggested that Masochism would appear to be the primary condition in virtue of abdominal pain in the infant being associated with pleasurable feelings in defecation, and that pleasure derived from giving pain to others would only be secondary to pleasure in pain perceived on oneself.

A discussion followed.

January 17, 1923. Miss Mary Chadwick, 6 Guilford Place, London, W. C. 1 was elected an Associate Member.

Dr. Mary Barkas gave an abstract of Feldmann's paper *Über Erkrankungsanlässe bei den Psychosen*. After the abstract of Feldmann's paper dealing with three cases of psychoses developing on a basis of organic injury or disease and observed *in statu nascendi*, there followed a discussion on three points arising out of the paper, viz:—the question of the causative factors, predisposing and determining, in the psychoses, that of the relation between psychoses and neuroses,

and the problem of the treatment of psychoses in relation to psycho-analytic technique. Dr. Herford mentioned the work of Ferenczi and of Hollós on General Paralysis; Dr. Ernest Jones spoke of the work of Hoch on precipitating causes of mental disease; Dr. Glover spoke of the difficulties in handling the transference in psychotic cases; and Dr. Ernest Jones also pointed out the care needed in handling cases where neurotic symptoms seemed to protect the patient from the development of a psychosis.

February 7, 1923. Mr. J. C. Flügel gave an abstract of Alexander's paper, *Metapsychologische Betrachtungen*. In concluding the abstract Mr. Flügel drew attention to certain similarities between the line of thought of Freud and Alexander and that of Herbert Spencer, who regarded life as a tendency to the establishment of an equilibrium between inner and outer forces (organism and environment), proximately a 'dependent moving equilibrium', ultimately the 'complete equilibrium of death'.

The principle points raised in the discussion were the questions how far consciousness could correctly be regarded as having a purely inhibitory function, and how far this could be brought into line with the existence of reaction-formations, etc.

February 21, 1923. Dr. E. Glover gave an abstract of papers on Active Therapy.

General references to 'active' steps in technique were given, followed by an abstract of Ferenczi's work on this subject, especially the two papers *Technische Schwierigkeiten* and *Weiterer Ausbau*. The Ferenczi method was then considered from the point of view of transference dynamics and the function of repetition was reviewed from a theoretical standpoint. It was suggested that auto-erotic repetitions are less available in the usual transference-*imago*-relationships, and are expressed in the patient's own adaptations of the analytic material. Further, that these are less amenable to 'active' technique on this account. Ego factors in falling ill were reviewed and certain contraindications to 'active' technique suggested. Other modifications of passive technique, based mainly on the study of resistance, were considered, and the works of Reik, Abraham and Reich on these points detailed. The manifestations of unconscious activity during the analytic hour were classified, emphasis being laid especially on auto-erotic manifestations and on the neurotic character-trait. Certain steps preliminary to the application of active methods were sketched out, and the implications of active therapy as regards the analyst were reviewed, mainly the risk of 'activity' stimulating the unconscious aggression components of the analyst in that he causes *Unlust* in the patient. Conversely the arousing of *Unlust* was calculated to stimulate possible masochistic tendencies in the patient.

March 7, 1923. Dr. R. M. Riggall: Tausk's Criticisms of Abraham's Paper on Ejaculatio praecox.

Dr. Riggall first gave a very brief summary of Abraham's paper on Ejaculatio praecox. He then dealt with Tausk's criticisms and pointed out that Tausk criticizes Abraham's statement that Ejaculatio praecox may be traced to marked urethral erotism and fixation of the libido on early urinary activities.

Tausk thinks that if female frigidity is equivalent to Ejaculatio praecox it should also be traceable to urethral erotism. He also thinks that Abraham has failed to see the homosexual element present in the establishment of the leading zone of the other sex in these cases. He states that it would have been advisable to quote more fully from clinical experience, and then proceeds to quote two cases of his own at considerable length in order to show the important part played by phantasy, repressed homosexuality, pollutions, and masturbation in these cases. He states that the premature ejaculation comes at the end of the phantasy, and that the patient is unable to adapt himself to the reality of the actual coitus. The premature ejaculation occurs only at the first and not the second attempt at coitus if the second attempt takes place soon after the first. The real effort for the sexual end suspends the sexual act, and these patients are unable to wait; this is borne out by the pollution dream.

The majority of cases do not depend upon enuresis factors, but react through masturbatory phantasies to the bladder fixation. These patients are strongly homosexual, and show the symptoms portrayed by Abraham derived from narcissistic homosexual complexes. Ejaculatio praecox diminishes or ceases altogether when the patient relinquishes conscious and unconscious phantasy. It is to be regarded as one of the many harmful results of masturbation.

The speaker remarked that his own cases all coincided with Abraham's urethral fixation theory. Tausk's observations seem rather to amplify Abraham's points than to destroy his theory. He had found that these patients will frequently seek anxiety in order to produce the ejaculation, and quoted cases to illustrate this point. The patient makes use of anxiety in order to reproduce the infantile pleasure. The speaker said that he had found in a series of war-neurosis cases that Ejaculatio praecox was not associated with anxiety, and complete impotence was extremely common; he also drew attention to coitus as a death symbol.

Changes of address

Major C. McWatters, c/o Grindlay's, Parliament Street, London, S. W. 1.

Dr. A. C. Wilson, 27 Nottingham Place, Baker Street, London, W. 1.

Dr. L. Zarchi, 95 Downs Road, Clapton, E. 5.

Douglas Bryan.

Honorary Secretary.

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DUTCH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Quarterly Report

January 8, 1923. Prof. Jelgersma gave a detailed account of a case which he treated for four years. The patient was a man of about thirty who suffered from various phobias, but nevertheless carried on his business efficiently. During the analytic hour he several times fell into a condition which closely resembled

the delirium of schizophrenia but which could be immediately brought to an end by a question or other active measure. These delirious states, which he called 'phantasies', afforded a clear insight into mental tendencies of which he was not conscious.

February 17, 1923. General Meeting.

After the necessary business had been performed accounts of various cases were given.

Dr. van Emden related several questions put by two children on sexual matters, from which it was quite clear what answers they expected.

Dr. Adolph F. Meijer discussed the history of the illness of a patient whom he had treated eight years previously. She suffered from delusions of persecution, the psychological origin of which was obvious; her conduct was always correct, she dressed with care and managed her household well. It proved impossible to remove her delusions.

Change of address

Dr. F. H. W. van Ophuijsen, Prinse Vinkenpark 5, den Haag.

Dr. F. P. Muller, Rijnsburgerweg 50b, Leiden.

Dr. Adolph F. Meijer.

Secretary.

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HUNGARIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

January 6, 1923. Dr. Sandor Ferenczi: Notes from psycho-analytical practice.

1. The relation between onanism and pollutions. Account of a dream, analysis of which made it plain that the pollution was an onanistic act resolved upon during the day from which the subject refrained, postponing it till sleep. The 'guiltlessness' of the act is secured by the absence of motor actions (touching). There are numerous ways of passing from onanism to pollution and of combining the two.

2. Blunder and dream. In paying her fees a patient paid by mistake 10,000 kronen too much; the money was returned to her. A dream of the following night, in which the 10,000 kronen note was in her hand-bag covered with an apron, showed that this money was unconsciously meant for a gift (of an erotic nature) to the physician.

3. Therapeutic experiments in a case of paranoia. Acting on the principle of Freud's statement that the paranoiac is really always right and is only in error as regards the unconsciousness of the hostile intentions he perceives, an attempt was made to accept *in this sense* every individual assertion of a paranoiac patient. In this way it was possible to gain his confidence and for the time being to effect some sort of transference. Already the patient is himself correcting some of the spontaneous delusions which arise in his mind.

4. In two patients, suffering the one from hysteria and the other from obsessional neurosis, it was observed that what had been consciously intended or consciously simulated returned later in the form of involuntary symptoms. A digestive trouble which was merely a pretence in childhood reappeared as an hysterical symptom, whilst in the obsessional patient the obsessional idea had actually been accepted from another person who advised her instead of fearing death to think of some scientific point, e. g. the origin of words. The consequence was that anxiety was transformed into obsessive philosophical speculations.

5. 'One-sidedness' represented in a dream. A hyper-idealistic and markedly snobbish patient dreamt of a woman walking on the left side of the street and reading one of Rabindranath Tagore's works. The road was marvellously beautiful, with chestnut trees in flower; the dreamer saw nothing of the other side. This dream probably represented her one-sidedness and her turning away from the unbeautiful side of life.

6. Sexual intercourse between man and woman represented in a dream by the two sides of the body. A man dreamt of erotic scenes, woke up and found his left hand pressed firmly into his right arm-pit—a quite unusual position for him to assume in sleep. Reference was made to other cases in which the different limbs or sides of the body corresponded to personifications of other individuals.

The following members took part in the discussion: Hollôs, Rôheim, Eisler, Lévy, Pfeifer.

January 20, 1923. Dr. Géza Rôheim: The psychoneuroses in the primal horde.

The speaker gave a brief resumé of the lectures he delivered in Berlin. In particular he brought out the points of correspondence between individual phenomena of primitive culture and the chief forms of psychoneurosis. He holds that in the mechanisms of the psychoneuroses traces of the experiences of the situation of the primal horde may be detected.

February 10, 1923. Frau Dr. Marie Takács: Johann Arany; psycho-analysis of the life and works of Hungary's greatest epic poet.

The following members took part in the discussion: Srilaggi, Pfeifer, Hermann, Eisler, Felszeghy, Frau Dr. Lévy, Ferenczi.

March 10, 1923. Dr. Sigmund Pfeifer: Notes on cases.

Analysis of a case of severe conversion and anxiety hysteria characterized by excessively strong sexual repression.

The following members took part in the discussion: Feldmann, Lévy, Felszeghy, Ferenczi.

March 27, 1923. Frau B. Neufeld (guest of the Society): The incest motive in Dostojevski's life and works.

Dostojevski's life and works are dominated throughout by the Oedipus complex. The wolf-phobia of his childhood, the pavor nocturnus and the epileptic seizures of his boyhood point to this complex, as do the psychogenic hoarseness and the

hysteria of his puberty, and the psychic impotence of his early manhood and maturity. His complicity in the Petraschefskey affaire signifies revolt against the father; the intended attempt upon the life of the Czar is really an unconscious parricide. The novel *The Brothers Karamazov* shows this convincingly. An avaricious father who is moreover a dangerous rival in the love-affairs of his son is murdered by one of his four sons, whilst the remaining three are also seeking to compass his death. The four sons are identified with the author. The murderer Smerdjekov suffered from epilepsy. All his life long Dostojewski experienced pangs of conscience after his epileptic attacks, as though he had committed a murder. In his novel his phantasy creates from his unconscious the cause of this remorse. His first marriage and the episode with Paulina W. which took place at that period of his life correspond to the conditions of love for one in whom there are incestuous fixations. He has to play the role of the injured third party, and the presence of this condition can be shown together with his jealousy and the phantasy of the rescuer. In every one of his novels the incest motive is evident.

The following members took part in the discussion: Pfeifer, Hermann, Eisler, Ferenczi.

February 27, 1923. General Meeting.

Re-election of the President and Secretary of the previous year.

Dr. Ferenczi referred in feeling terms to the death of Frau Dr. Elisabeth Radó-Révész, in memory of whom Herr and Frau Dr. Eisler gave a sum of 20,000 kronen to increase the Library of the Society.

Changes in Membership

Frau Dr. Elisabeth Rádo-Révész—deceased.

Dr. S. Feldmann has resigned his membership.

Frau Dr. Marie TakácZ was elected an Associate Member.

Dr. Imre Hermann.

(Acting Secretary.)

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INDIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

During the year under review six new members were elected and the Society held five meetings (including an informal one) in which the following papers were read and discussed:—

1. Reliability of Psycho-Analytical Findings by Dr. G. Jose, D. SC., M. B.
2. Some Difficulties of Psycho-Analysis by Mr. H. P. Maiti, M. A.
3. Maner Sanga Inapakata in Bengali by Dr. S. L. Sarker, M. A., M. B.
4. Rabindra Nath's Poetry by Dr. S. L. Sarker, M. A., M. B.

Rs. 312. 4. 0 were received from the members as subscriptions out of which Rs. 205. 5. 4 were spent. The sum of Rs. 196, 3. 4 was sent to Dr. E. Jones

on account of subscription to the Central Executive of the International Psycho-Analytical Association and for subscription to the International Journal, and Rs. 9. 2. 0 were spent in stamps and stationery. The balance with the Secretary on 31st December, 1922, was Rs. 106. 14. 8.

On the recommendation of the President, Dr. Jones very kindly exempted four members from subscribing to the Journal. Three of the members who were already members of the British Psycho-Analytical Society did not pay their share for the Central Executive and the Journal.

List of Members

1. Dr. G. Bose, D. Sc., M. B., President, Lecturer in Psycho-analysis, C. U., 14, Parsibagan Lane, Calcutta.
2. Dr. N. N. Sen Gupta, M. A., Ph. D., Lecturer-in-charge, Experimental Psychology and Lecturer in Philosophy, C. U., 11, Ghose Lane, Calcutta.
3. G. Bora, B. A., Secretary, Jute Balers Association, 7/2 Halliday St., Calcutta.
4. M. N. Banerji, M. Sc., Secretary, Lecturer in Physiological Psychology and Physiology, C. U., 30 Tarak Chaterji Lane, Calcutta.
5. H. Maiti, M. A., Lecturer in Child Psychology, Educational Psychology and Philosophy, C. U., 8, Halsibagan Lane, Calcutta.
6. Suhrit C. Mittra, M. A., Lecturer in Animal Psychology, C. U., 16 Bhabanath Sen St., Calcutta.
7. Gopeswar Pal, M. Sc., Lecturer in Experimental Psychology, C. U., 7/1 Parsibagan Lane, Calcutta.
8. Capt. S. K. Roy, M. B., I. M. S., 2 Amherst Street, Calcutta.
9. Capt. N. C. Mitter, M. B., I. M. S., 46, Raja Dinendra Str., Calcutta.
10. Prof. Haridas Battacharjee, M. A., P. R. S., Reader in Philosophy and Experimental Psychology, Dacca University, The Chummery Ranna P. O., Dacca.
11. Prof. Rangin Chander Halder, M. A., Professor of Psychology, B. N. College, Patna.
12. Dr. Sarasilal Sarkar, M. A., M. B., Civil Surgeon, Malda.
13. Capt. J. R. Dhar, I. M. S., 6 George Town, Allahabad.
14. Major Owen Berkeley-Hill, I. M. S., Superintendent, European Mental Hospital, Kanke P. O. Ranchi, B. N. R.
15. Major R. C. McWatters, I. M. S., Saharanpur.

M. N. Banerji.
Secretary.

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THE NEW YORK PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY.

January 23, 1923. An interesting Psycho-Analytical Hour. By Dr. Adolph Stern. The report is an account of a session which took place shortly before the discontinuing of the treatment owing to external circumstances, at a time when

the analysis was still not complete. The material reported was in part stimulated by knowledge on the part of the patient that the treatment was to stop for causes not of his own making. An extensive and valuable part of his neurosis was lived through during the hour; also important phenomena of the negative phase of the transference were lived through at the beginning of the hour without much realization on the part of the patient of their infantile origin. In fact these negative phenomena, in the form of resistance to the homo-erotic component, made their appearance the first thing in the hour's session, and the patient lived them through as if they were events of the present; much was done in this hour to trace these homo-erotic components to their infantile origin, with more emotional insight than had been accomplished before. No new material came up in the course of the hour; the old became more clearly defined than before in its proper relationship between the past and the present. (Author's Abstract.)

Nomination and election of officers took place at this meeting.

For President Dr. H. W. Frink.

For Vice President Dr. Adolph Stern.

For Rec. Sec. and Treas: Dr. Bernard Glueck.

Election to office was by unanimous vote.

February 27, 1923. Installation of Officers. Address of the retiring and incoming presidents. At this meeting the revised constitution was read. A revision of the constitution had been under consideration by a committee for some time, owing to the need felt for more stringent qualifications on the part of candidates for active membership, especially in respect to their specific psychoanalytical qualifications. The revision was with the object of making the requirements for active membership conform with those in the Psycho-Analytical Societies of Berlin and Vienna; namely that a candidate for active membership must have undergone a satisfactory analysis at the hands of a competent analyst before being eligible for active membership. Some other changes in the old constitution of a minor nature were made and adopted.

A special committee was appointed by the president to consider ways and means of stimulating reviewing psycho-analytic and related literature in America and publishing the reviews in the International Journal of Psycho-Analysis. The broad purpose of the committee was to promote better scientific activity and take further measures to spread, especially by means of lectures among the medical profession and the laity, more accurate and authoritative psycho-analytic knowledge; there was felt a great need for the spread of accurate information as such, and also for the necessity of correcting the prevalent misinformation concerning psycho-analysis.

Dr. Adolph Stern was appointed Corresponding Secretary.

VIENNA PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Admitted to membership: Dr. Wilhelm Hoffer, Wien VIII, Fuhrmannngasse 4.

January 3, 1923. Short reports and communications:

1. Dr. Fokschaner: *Déjà raconté* combined with an opposite illusion of memory.
2. Dr. Reich: Review of Schilder's work *Das Unbewusste*.

January 17, 1923. Short reports and communications:

1. Dr. Bernfeld: Analysis of an educational device.
2. Dr. Rank: Report of a dream.
3. Dr. Nunberg: An artificially induced dream.
4. Dr. Reich: History of the treatment of a psychogenic tic.

January 31, 1923. Doz. Dr. Deutsch: Psycho-Analytic Illustrations. (To be published in the *Zeitschrift*.)

In the course of the discussion Dr. Reich said that the conception of conversion must be more strictly defined. When anxiety is produced by suggestion and the vasomotor system is excited, as in the cases mentioned by Dr. Deutsch, it is not a true conversion-symptom, nor is palpitation in 'reality-anxiety'. The term conversion must be confined to the transformation of a mental affect into bodily innervation; in this case the converted affect can be no longer represented mentally. This of course does not exclude the presence of affects of different origin side by side with the conversion-symptom. Further, it is a point of importance how far and to what extent the organs which serve the purpose of conversion (e. g. the intestine in chronic constipation lasting for whole decades, or the vascular system of the face in erythrophobia) undergo a secondary organic change and how far psycho-analysis can bring about a reversion to the normal from the psychically induced alteration. Author's Abstract.

February 14, 1923. Dr. Frieda Teller: Transference in analysis.

February 28, 1923. Dr. Reik: Tabnith, King of Sidon.

March 4, 1923. Short reports and communications:

1. Dr. Federn: History of a case of melancholia.
2. Dr. Federn: A form of inhibition-dream.
3. Anna Freud: An hysterical symptom in a little child.
4. Dr. Nunberg: Outbreak of a neurosis due to a dream.
5. Dr. Hitschmann: Previous history of a case of suicide.
6. Dr. Hitschmann: Stekel's *Impuls-handlungen*.

March 14, 1923. Dr. Reich: Certain relations between narcissism and the sense of guilt.

Narcissistic libido, 'the libidinal complement to the egoism of the self-preservative instinct' (Freud), tends to the affirmation of the ego and of life. In this sense the feeling of guilt is diametrically opposed to it; this feeling tends to denial of the ego and in extreme cases, as in melancholia, to destruction of the ego. The degree of the sense of guilt depends on the tension between the primitive libidinal tendencies and the demands of the narcissistically invested

ego-ideal. The sense of guilt is an expression of the relation of the ego to objects which are also invested with libido—for the most part of a sadistic kind. (Ambivalence and a sense of guilt are the two most essential constant characteristics of the obsessional neurosis.) The instinctual character of the sense of guilt must also be recognised. The withdrawal of object-libido in melancholia, as contrasted with paranoia, leads not to an exaltation but to an abasement of the ego—to the 'loss in the ego' (delusion of inferiority). The loss in the ego cannot be explained solely by its identification with the object which is to be destroyed. The identification is a secondary change in the direction of the narcissistic libido and is preceded by the withdrawal of object-libido. The ego that is overwhelmed by the sense of guilt cannot be invested by the libido thus withdrawn, i. e. the ego cannot love itself. The patient is obliged to identify himself (generally by oral introjection) with the object in relation to which he experiences feelings of guilt.

The narcissistic position may sustain injury from two directions: from the libidinal object-relation and from the ego. With reference to the specific nature of a disease it is important to discover in what stage of its development the narcissistic libido was injured and what kind of injury was inflicted.

The determining factor (and probably this applies also to the choice of a later disease) is the degree of development of narcissism in the child encountered by the sense of guilt. The narcissistic development culminates only when the genital phase is achieved without obstruction and when the childhood is happy and marked by love on the part of the parents and those who train the child. A strong narcissism acts as an inhibition upon the assimilation of the sense of guilt.

The speaker referred to some typical issues of conflicts arising in this connection, for instance, to 'crimes committed from a sense of guilt' (Freud), where a powerful feeling of guilt which has been repressed seems after the manner of a symptom to aim at rationalization.

Author's Abstract (abbreviated).

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THE PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL MOVEMENT

France

Since our last report was issued exactly a year ago, psycho-analysis seems to have gained ground in France, especially in medical circles; at the beginning the attention of the wider public was drawn to the subject almost exclusively by literary writers. In token of this awakening scientific interest, which is clearly connected with the appearance of French translations of Freud's *Introductory Lectures* and *The Psycho-pathology of Everyday Life*, we have the new edition of Régis and Hesnard's book (*La Psychoanalyse des Névroses et des Psychoses*) which first contained an exposition of the subject in French. We understand that

Hesnard is preparing a special report on psycho-analysis for the Congress of specialists in mental and nervous diseases which will be held this year.

The hesitation and reluctance of the Paris Faculty of Medicine to consider psycho-analysis is not surprising since Janet's influence on the psychological school of the Collège de France is as strong as ever. Moreover, in France the usual resistances are greatly accentuated by national feeling.

Amongst the younger neurologists (pupils of the late Prof. Dupré) are individuals here and there who are endeavouring really to understand psycho-analysis and to judge it from a purely scientific point of view. Dr. Lhermitte, one of the representatives of this school and formerly Assistant Physician at the Salpêtrière, published in *Clinique et Laboratoire* (Paris, Aug. 30, 1922) a brief statement of the Freudian theory in which he said that it enabled us to see the origin of the neuroses much more clearly than did the old psychology. This verdict is the more remarkable since, as far as we know, it is the first time that a neurologist of standing has thus taken up the cause of psycho-analysis.

In *Revue de France* (1922) a paper appeared by Dr. Ph. Chaslin, entitled 'La Psychoanalyse. Freud et le Freudisme', based on the translation of the *Introductory Lectures*. The paper is simply an abstract and gives a correct account of psycho-analysis. In his short resumé, however, the author betrays a profound misunderstanding of its main principles, especially of the conception of the libido.

The philosopher Georges Dubujadoux criticizes the psycho-analytic theory in an article entitled 'Freud et son procédé sophistique' (*Mercure de France*, Sept. 1, 1922). His objections, like most others of the same kind, proceed from a misunderstanding of the conception of the unconscious. In *Le Temps* (Nov. 1922) Gaston Rageot delivers an equally vehement attack. He regards what according to him is the grain of truth in psycho-analysis as a copy of two or three French ideas (taken from Charcot and Janet). A propos of this paper, R. O. Frick in *Feuille d'avis de Neuchâtel* endeavours to discover the general causes of the resistance to psycho-analysis in France and considers the main cause to be scientific envy reinforced by the national hatred provoked by the war.

In spite of the undoubted progress of psycho-analysis in France, French literature as a whole gives the impression that most of the authors who deal with it, or even criticize it, are either wholly or partially ignorant of its origin or of its development, to say nothing of the ample material on which it is based or of its practical technique.

Russia

According to the latest reports from Prof. Ermakow and Dr. Wulff, the Psycho-Analytical Society at Moscow is now working in a medical and a pedagogic section; the latter is under the direction of Schatzky, one of the first educationists in Russia, while the medical group is directed by Dr. Wulff who was about to accept an appointment as Assistant at the Medical Clinic in Moscow.

The spread of psycho-analysis in Russia is testified to by the fact that, within a month, 2,000 copies of the first volume of Freud's *Introductory Lectures* were sold. A volume of the *Kleine Schriften* is in preparation and also a volume on the analytic method and technique. Dr. Wulff is at work on a translation of *Totem und Tabu*.

*

At the All-Russian Congress for Psycho-Neurology held in Moscow, Jan. 10 at 15, 1923, the following papers on psycho-analysis were read:

J. B. Kannabich: On psychogenic diseases.

M. B. Wulff: Psychasthenia and its treatment (2 lectures).

Phobias and their treatment (1 lecture).

Luria: The Psycho-analysis of dress.

Dr. J. Ermakow: Children's play as a product of repression and repetition.

T. A. Sidorow: Psycho-analysis and pictorial art.

J. M. Lewinson: Psycho-analysis of ethical tendencies in juvenile delinquents.

A. W. Grunstein: The study of dreams as a method of topographical diagnosis(?).

Smirnow: Free association.

E. K. Krasnuschkin: Psychogenic diseases.

M. O. Gurewitsch: Psychogenic diseases.

N. P. Bruchemsky: Psychogenic diseases.

Switzerland

On Nov. 4, 1922, Dr. Rudolf Brun, Professor of Neurology and Neurobiology in the University of Zurich, delivered his Inaugural Lecture, 'The Nature of Neurosis'. He endeavoured to show that the complicated processes in the sphere of instinctual life, which according to Freud form the basis of neurosis and in particular of neurotic symptom-formation, depend on universal laws of neurobiology. For similar mechanisms (*in nuce*) can be demonstrated in reflex-physiology as well as in the dissociation of the lower brain-centres from the cerebrum in central lesions of the brain. Thus the theory of the neuroses which Freud puts forward presents by far the best and most profound conception of the nature of neurosis, not only from the psychological but also from the biological standpoint.

In the winter session 1922—23 Dr. S. Spielrein of Geneva gave a lecture on *Psychoanalyse éducative* at the Rousseau Institute. She also delivered at the Institute in the winter term, 1922, two public lectures on psycho-analysis, or rather on subjects treated from the psycho-analytic point of view:

1. What children do not tell us.

2. *Les enfant créateurs*.

The following papers were read before the Swiss Society for Psychiatry:
Spring Meeting, 1922. Dr. H. Christoffel, Basel: Affectivity and Colours. The speaker laid stress on the significance of colour symbols in the psycho-analytic technique of dream-interpretation.

Autumn Meeting, 1922. A. Kielholz, Königsfelden: The Genesis and Dynamics of the Mania of Invention.

2. Dr. E. Oberholzer: The Interpretation-Experiments with Ink-blot in connection with Psycho-Analysis (based on Dr. Rorschach's manuscript).

The following lectures were held for teachers and educational circles:

1. At the Educational Union of the Zurich Teachers Association, by Walter Hofman, head-master at Zurich:

Affective relations between pupils and teachers (the part played by transference), and by Principal Tobler: *The relation between father and son.*

2. At the Teacher's Convention at Zurich (Sept., 1922), at the invitation of the President, by Walter Hofman: *The affective conflicts in the child* (Oedipus conflict and its off-shoots) dealing with its expression in drawings, essays, etc. at school.

3. At the Teachers' Conference at Bremgarten-Muri (Aargau) by Dr. O. Pfister: *The nature and significance of psycho-analysis in education.*

4. At the Teachers' Union at Niedersimmental in Spiez (Bern) by Hans Zulliger, head-master at Ittigen bei Bern: *The teacher and psycho-analysis.*

The following lectures were given by Dr. Charles Odier, Geneva:

1. June 1, 1922, in Paris, at a private assembly at the house of Dr. Sokolnicka: *Les tendances sado-masochistes et l'autopunition à propos de quelque cas.*

2. June 14, 1922, at the Institute of Sociology in Brussels: *L'Exposition générale de la méthode psycho-analytique. Théorie de Freud et de Jung. Le symbolisme et l'interprétation des rêves. Exemples.*

3. June 17, 1922, at the Solvay Institute in Brussels, to Professors of the Institutes and the University:

a) *Les apports de la psychanalyse à la psychologie.*

b) *Ses applications thérapeutiques.*

c) *La psychanalyse et la sociologie.*

A report of the last three lectures appears in the *Bulletin des Instituts.*

*

THE UNIVERSITY OF RIGA

During the winter session 1922—23, Prof. E. Schneider gave two lectures from the standpoint of psycho-analysis:

1. Psychology and education at puberty.

2. Psychopathology.

*

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

To the report issued in a former number we have to add that Prof. Gase-mann, the new Professor in Slavonic Languages at the German University at Prague, recently gave an address before the German Archæological Society, based on a work on Dostojevski (now in preparation) from the psycho-analytic standpoint. This work is based chiefly on the *Traumdeutung*.

The German-Bohemian poet, Friedrich Jaksch, is preparing a dissertation in which he attempts to explain in psycho-analytic terms Friedrich Hebbel's change of style.

On Feb. 2, at the invitation of the Hungarian Medical Association at Kaschau, Dr. Ferenczi gave a lecture on psycho-analysis at which over fifty physicians from Kaschau and the neighbourhood were present. The next day Dr. Ferenczi spoke on the Unconscious at a local club, to an audience of about two hundred and fifty people.

*

La Scienza per Tutti publishes in its first number an article of friendly recognition entitled *La Psicoanalisi*, by Dr. Silvia Tissi, who also deals with psycho-analysis in subsequent numbers of this Journal.

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